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[In English only]

A RECORD OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIRST UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS

HELD AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

JULY 26 TO 29, 1911

LONDON

P. S. KING & SON

1911

PAPERS
ON
INTER-RACIAL
PROBLEMS

COMMUNICATED TO THE
FIRST UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS

HELD AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

JULY 26-29, 1911

EDITED, FOR THE CONGRESS EXECUTIVE, BY

G. SPILLER

HON. ORGANISER OF THE CONGRESS



LONDON
P. S. KING & SON
ORCHARD HOUSE, WESTMINSTER

BOSTON, U.S.A.
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PREFACE

THE object of the Congress is "to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation."

The writers of papers were requested to keep in view the spirit of this object; but were otherwise not supplied with, or bound by, any instructions. Accordingly, it would have been natural to find the widest differences of opinion expressed in the following contributions. Singular to state, however, the writers—coming literally from all parts of the circumference of the globe—manifest a remarkable agreement on almost every vital problem with which the Congress is concerned, and support, as a whole, a view which must be very encouraging to those in every land who see a brother and an equal, at least potentially, in every human being, whatever the colour of his skin. In view of the eminent fitness of the writers to pronounce judgment on the issues involved in the contact of races, the Congress may be said to have effectively served both a scientific and a humanitarian purpose. Henceforth it should not be difficult to answer those who allege that their own race towers far above all other races, and that therefore other races must cheerfully submit to being treated, or mal-treated, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The writers have, as it were, reduced to reasoned statements the generous sentiments prevailing on this subject among the most cultivated and responsible section of humanity, a section fairly represented in our imposing list of Vice-Presidents, Hon. Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Hon. General Committee.

It was felt that in a Congress of this comprehensive character each people should speak for itself; and it is for this reason that every paper referring to an Oriental people

will be found written by an eminent person belonging to it. Thus the Occidental reader of this volume has the unprecedented opportunity of learning what Oriental scholars think of the contact of races. It is to be hoped that at the Second Universal Races Congress a much larger number of the general and scientific papers will come from Oriental sources.

The particular opinions expressed by the writers in this volume are personal, and do not in any way commit the members of the Congress. The organisers adhere to their original statement that "whilst wholly sympathetic towards all far-sighted measures calculated to strengthen and promote good relations, the Congress is pledged to no political party and to no particular scheme of reforms." To this should be added, in order to prevent possible misunderstandings, that the contributors speak in their individual capacity, and not as official representatives. These necessary limitations, however, do not detract from the significance and importance of the contributions embodied in this volume.

The Executive Council takes this opportunity of expressing its deep gratitude to the many writers of papers who have contributed to the value and success of the Congress by putting at its disposal their rich stores of knowledge and experience. It desires also to acknowledge the valuable services rendered by the translators, Mrs. Boyce Gibson and Mr. Joseph McCabe. And, last but not least, the Executive cannot forbear tendering its sincerest thanks to the Senate of the University of London for having generously granted the free use of halls and rooms for the meetings of the Congress.

INTRODUCTION

To those who regard the furtherance of International Good Will and Peace as the highest of all human interests, the occasion of the First Universal Races Congress opens a vista of almost boundless promise.

No impartial student of history can deny that in the case of nearly all recorded wars, whatever the ostensible reasons assigned, the underlying cause of conflict has been the existence of race antipathies—using the word race in its broad and popular acceptation—which particular circumstances, often in themselves of trivial moment, have fanned into flame.

In the earliest times it took the form of one race attempting to subjugate and indeed enslave another; but even in modern wars, while questions of frontier, the ambitions of rulers, or the rivalries of commercial policies, may have provoked the actual crisis, it will be found, in almost every instance, that the pre-existence of social and racial enmity has in reality determined the breach which particular incidents had merely precipitated.

As civilisation progresses and the Western world more fully recognises its ethical responsibilities, it may be hoped that such influences will become an ever-diminishing force; but the modern conscience has to-day, in addition, other and quite new problems to solve in face of the startling and sudden appearance of new factors in the Eastern Hemisphere.

In less than twenty years we have witnessed the most remarkable awakening of nations long regarded as sunk in such depths of somnolence as to be only interesting

to the Western world because they presented a wide and prolific field for commercial rivalries, often greedy, cruel, and fraught with bloodshed in their prosecution, but which otherwise were an almost negligible quantity in international concerns.

How great is the change in the life-time of a single generation, when, to select two instances alone, we contemplate the most remarkable rise of the power of the Empire of Japan, the precursor, it would seem, of a similar revival of the activities and highly developed qualities of the population of the great Empire of China!

Nearer and nearer we see approaching the day when the vast populations of the East will assert their claim to meet on terms of equality the nations of the West, when the free institutions and the organised forces of the one hemisphere will have their counterbalance in the other, when their mental outlook and their social aims will be in principle identical; when, in short, the colour prejudice will have vanished and the so-called white races and the so-called coloured races shall no longer merely meet in the glowing periods of missionary exposition, but, in very fact, regard one another as in truth men and brothers.

Are we ready for this change? Have we duly considered all that it signifies, and have we tutored our minds and shaped our policy with a view of successfully meeting the coming flood? It is in order to discuss this question of such supreme importance that the First Universal Races Congress is being held. The papers, so varied in their scope and treatment, which have been communicated by individuals of eminence from many distant lands, will testify to the world-wide interest which the examination of these grave problems has aroused, the wise handling of which would remove dangers and possible causes of strife which, but for skilled guidance, might conceivably convulse mankind.

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CIRCULARS ISSUED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

I. INVITATION

A CONGRESS dealing with the general relations subsisting between West and East will be held in London from July 26 to July 29, 1911. So far as possible special treatment will be accorded to the problem of the contact of European with other developed types of civilisation, such as the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Turkish, and Persian. The official Congress languages are to be English, French, German, and Italian; but Oriental and other languages will not be rigidly excluded. The papers (which will be taken as read) are to appear, collected in volume form, both in an all-English and an all-French edition, about a month before the Congress opens, and among the contributors will be found eminent representatives of more than twenty civilisations. All schools of thought which sympathise with the Object of the Congress are hereby invited to take part in the proceedings. *Resolutions of a political character will not be submitted.*

II. OBJECT AND NATURE OF THE CONGRESS

THE object of the Congress will be to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation. Political issues of the hour will be subordinated to this comprehensive end, in the firm belief that, when once mutual respect is established, difficulties of every type will be sympathetically approached and readily solved.

The origin of this Congress is easily explained. The interchange of material and other wealth between the different races of mankind has of late years assumed such dimensions that *the old attitude of distrust and aloofness is giving way to a general desire for closer acquaintanceship.* Out of this interesting situation has sprung

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the idea of holding a Congress where the representatives of the different races might meet each other face to face, and might, in friendly rivalry, further the cause of mutual trust and respect between Occident and Orient, between the so-called white peoples and the so-called coloured peoples.

Accordingly the Congress will not represent a meeting of all the races for the purpose of discussing indiscriminately everybody's concerns. It will not discuss purely European questions, such as the relations existing between or within the different European countries; nor, of course, will it discuss the attitude of Europe towards the United States, or towards other American Republics representing races of European descent. Again, whilst wholly sympathetic towards all far-sighted measures calculated to strengthen and promote good relations, *the Congress is pledged to no political party and to no particular scheme of reforms.* The writers of papers will, however, have the full right to express whatever political views they may hold, though they will be expected to do justice to all political parties and to treat the issues of the day only passingly. Furthermore, the Congress will not be purely scientific in the sense of only stating facts and not passing judgments. Nor will it be a peace congress in the sense of aiming specifically at the prevention of war. Finally, it should be noted that, since the Congress is to serve the purpose of bringing about healthier relations between Occident and Orient, all bitterness towards parties, peoples, or governments will be avoided, without, of course, excluding reasoned praise and blame. With the problem simplified in this manner, and with a limited number of papers written by leading authorities, there is every hope that the discussions will bear a rich harvest of good, and contribute materially towards encouraging friendly feelings and hearty co-operation between the peoples of the West and the East.

III. QUESTIONNAIRE

*(Replies to any or all the questions should reach the Hon. Sec.
not later than June 15, 1911.)*

I. (a) To what extent is it legitimate to argue from differences in physical characteristics to differences in mental characteristics? (b) Do you consider that the physical and mental characteristics observable in a particular race are (1) permanent, (2) modifiable only through ages of environmental pressure, or (3) do you consider that marked changes in popular education, in public sentiment, and in environment generally, may, apart from intermarriage, materially

transform physical and especially mental characteristics in a generation or two?

2. (a) To what extent does the status of a race at any particular moment of time offer an index to its innate or inherited capacities? (b) Of what importance is it in this respect that civilisations are meteoric in nature, bursting out of obscurity only to plunge back into it, and how would you explain this?

3. (a) How would you combat the irreconcilable contentions prevalent among all the more important races of mankind that *their* customs, *their* civilisation, and *their* race are superior to those of other races? (b) Would you, in explanation of existing differences, refer to special needs arising from peculiar geographical and economic conditions and to related divergences in national history; and, in explanation of the attitude assumed, would you refer to intimacy with one's own customs leading psychologically to a love of them and unfamiliarity with others' customs tending to lead psychologically to dislike and contempt of these latter? (c) Or what other explanation and arguments would you offer?

4. (a) What part do differences in economic, hygienic, moral, and educational standards play in estranging races which come in contact with each other? (b) Is the ordinary observer to be informed that these differences, like social differences generally, are in substance almost certainly due to passing social conditions and not to innate racial characteristics, and that the aim should be, as in social differences, to remove these rather than to accentuate them by regarding them as fixed?

5. (a) Is perhaps the deepest cause of race misunderstandings the tacit assumption that the present characteristics of a race are the expression of fixed and permanent racial characteristics? (b) If so, could not anthropologists, sociologists, and scientific thinkers as a class, powerfully assist the movement for a juster appreciation of races by persistently pointing out in their lectures and in their works the fundamental fallacy involved in taking a static instead of a dynamic, a momentary instead of a historic, a local instead of a general, point of view of race characteristics? (c) And could such dynamic teaching be conveniently introduced into schools, more especially in the geography and history lessons; also into colleges for the training of teachers, diplomats, colonial administrators, and missionaries?

6. (a) If you consider that the belief in racial superiority is not largely due, as is suggested by some of the above questions, to unenlightened psychological repulsion and under-estimation of the dynamic or environmental factors, please state what, in your opinion, the chief factors are? (b) Do you consider that there is fair proof,

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and if so what proof, of some races being substantially superior to others in inborn capacity, and in such case is the moral standard to be modified?

7. (A) What is your attitude towards the suggestion (a) that, so far at least as intellectual and moral aptitudes are concerned, we ought to speak of civilisations where we now speak of races? (b) that the stage or form of the civilisation of a people has no connection with its special inborn physical characteristics? (c) and that even its physical characteristics are to no small extent the direct result of the environment, physical and social, under which it is living at the moment? (B) To aid in clearing up the conceptions of *race* and *civilisation*, how would you define these?

8. (a) Do you think that each race might with advantage study the customs and civilisations of other races, even those you think the lowliest ones, for the definite purpose of improving its own customs and civilisation? (b) Do you think that unostentatious conduct generally and respect for the customs of other races, provided these are not morally objectionable, should be recommended to all who come in passing or permanent contact with members of other races?

9. (a) Do you know of any experiments on a considerable scale, past or present, showing the successful uplifting of relatively backward races by the application of purely humane methods? (b) Do you know of any cases of colonisation or opening of a country achieved by the same methods? (c) If so, how far do you think could such methods be applied universally in our dealings with other races?

10. What proposals do you have (a) for the Congress effectively carrying out its object of encouraging better relations between East and West, and more particularly (b) for the formation of an association designed to promote inter-racial amity?

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WILLIAM T. STEAD, London, Editor of "Review of Reviews."

S. H. SWINNY, M.A., London, representing the Sociological Society.

MARY F. A. TENCH, F.R.A.I., London.

Major A. J. N. TREMEARNE, B.A. (*Hausa*, U. of Cambridge).

Major-General Sir ALFRED TURNER, K.C.B., London.

H. J. WELCH, Solicitor, London.

Prof. EDWARD WESTERMARCK (London U. and U. of Helsingfors).

J. MARTIN WHITE, J.P., London.

Sir JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I., London.

HON. VICE-PRESIDENTS.

*I. Members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of the
Second Hague Conference.*

(At the time of acceptance—A la date d'adhésion.)

- Argentina**—M. ESTANISLAS S. ZEBALLOS, late Minister of State, Member of the Hague Court, Member of the Institut de Droit International, Professor of International Law.
- Austria**—Prof. Dr. H. LAMMASCH, Member of both Hague Conferences, Member of the Hague Court, Professor of International Law.
Baron Dr. ERNEST DE PLENER, Senator, Councillor of State President of the Supreme Court of the Exchequer, Member of the Hague Court, Member of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- Belgium**—M. A. BEERNAERT, Deputy, Minister of State, late Prime Minister, Member of the Hague Court and of both Hague Conferences, President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Nobel Peace Prize, Hon. Member of the Institute of International Law.
Le Baron GUILLAUME, Belgian Minister in Paris, Member of the Second Hague Conference, Member of the Royal Academy of Roumania.
M. ERNEST NYS, Judge at the Brussels Court of Appeal, Member of the Hague Court, Professor of International Law.
- Brazil**—M. CLOVIS BEVILAQUA, Jurisconsult at the Foreign Office, Member of the Hague Court, Member of the Brazilian Academy, Professor of Law.
M. EDUARDO F. S. DOS SANTOS LISBÔA, Brazilian Minister at The Hague, Member of the Second Hague Conference.
M. LAFAYETTE RODRIGUES PEREIRA, late Prime Minister, Member of the Hague Court.
- Bulgaria**—Dr. STOYAN DANEFF, late Prime Minister, late Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Hague Court, late Professor at the University of Sophia.
M. IVAN KARANDJOULOFF, Attorney General of the Bulgarian High Court of Cassation, Member of the Second Hague Conference.
- Chile**—Dr. ALEJANDRO ALVAREZ, Councillor at the Foreign Office, Member of the Hague Court.
Dr. MIGUEL CRÚCHAGA, late Prime Minister, Chilean Minister at Buenos-Ayres, Member of the Hague Court.
†M. DOMÍNGO GANA, Minister of Chile in London, Member of the Second Hague Conference.
M. AUGUSTO MATTE, Minister of Chile in Berlin, Member of the Second Hague Conference.
- China**—M. WU TING-FANG, late Chinese Ambassador in Washington, late Imperial Commissioner, Member of the Hague Court.
M. LOU TSENG-TSIANG, Chinese Minister at The Hague, Member of the Second Hague Conference.
- Colombia**—M. PEREZ TRIANA, Minister of Colombia in London, Member of the Second Hague Conference.
- Cuba**—M. JUAN B. HERNANDES BARREIRO, President of the Supreme Tribunal of the Republic, Member of the Hague Court.
M. GONZALO DE QUESADA, Cuban Minister in Berlin, Member of the Hague Court.
- Denmark**—M. A. VEDEL, Sheriff for the county of Nestvest, Member of the Second Hague Conference.
- Dominican Republic**—Dr. FRANCISCO HENRIQUEZ Y CARVAJAL, late Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Hague Court and of the Second Hague Conference.
M. RAFAEL J. CASTILLO, President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Member of the Hague Court.
M. ELISEO GRULLÓN, late Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Hague Court.

Ecuador—M. E. DORN Y DE ALSUA, Member of the Second Hague Conference, Chargé d'Affaires in Paris.

General JULIO ANDRADE, Deputy, late Minister of Public Instruction, Minister of Ecuador at Bogota, Member of the Hague Court.

France—M. LÉON BOURGEOIS, late Prime Minister and President of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Hague Court and of both Hague Conferences.

Baron D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT, Senator, Member of both Hague Conferences, Member of the Hague Court, President of the Conciliation Internationale, Nobel Peace Prize.

M. ALBERT DECRAIS, Senator, late Ambassador and Colonial Minister, Member of the Hague Court.

M. MARCELLIN PÉLLET, French Minister at The Hague, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. LOUIS RENAULT, Membre de l'Institut, Member of both Hague Conferences, Member of the Hague Court, Nobel Peace Prize, Professor of International Law.

Germany—Dr. L. v. BAR, Member of the Hague Court, Hon. Member of the Institute of International Law, Professor of International Law.

Dr. PHILIPP ZORN, Senator, Member of both Hague Conferences, Professor of International Law.

Greece—M. A. TYPALDO-BASSIA, late President ad interim of Greek Parliament, Member of the Hague Court, Professor of Economics.

Prof. Dr. MICHEL KEBEDGY, Judge of the Court of Appeal at Alexandria, Member of the Hague Court.

M. CLÉON RIZO RANGABÉ, Greek Minister in Berlin, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. GEORGES STREIT, Member of the Second Hague Conference, Member of the Hague Court, Professor of International Law.

Guatemala—M. ANTONIO BATRES JAUREGUI, late Minister of State, Member of the Hague Court.

M. LUIS TOLEDO HERRARTE, Minister of Guatemala at Washington, Member of the Hague Court.

M. MANUEL CABRAL, late Minister of State, President of the Judiciary Power, Member of the Hague Court.

Haiti—M. JEAN JOSEPH DALBEMAR, late Haytian Minister in Paris, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. TERTULLIEN GUILBAUD, late Chief of Cabinet, late Senator, Member of the Hague Court.

M. PIERRE HUDICOURT, Member of the Second Hague Conference, Bâtonnier de l'Ordre des Avocats de Port-au-Prince, late Professor of International Law.

M. JACQUES NICOLAS LEGER, late Minister of Hayti in Washington, Member of the Hague Court, Member of the Second Hague Conference, President of the Port-au-Prince Society for Legislation.

General LÉGITIME, late President of the Republic of Hayti, Member of the Hague Court.

M. SOLON MÉNOS, late Minister of Finance, Commerce, Justice, and Foreign Affairs, Member of the Hague Court.

Hungary—Count ALBERT APPONYI, Deputy, late Minister of Public Education, late Speaker, Member of the Hague Court.

M. ALBERT DE BERZEVICZY, President of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Member of Hague Court.

Italy—M. GUIDO FUSINATO, Deputy, Councillor of State, late Minister of Public Instruction, Member of the Second Hague Conference, Member of the Hague Court, late Professor of International Law.

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†M. AUGUSTE PIERANTONI, LL.D. (Oxford and Edinburgh), Senator, late President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Hague Court, Professor of International Law.

†M. GUIDO POMPILJ, Deputy, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Member of both Hague Conferences.

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M. AIMARO SATO, Japanese Minister at The Hague, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. KEIROKU TSUDZUKI, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

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Mexico—M. FRANCISCO L. DE LA BARRA, Mexican Ambassador at Washington, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. JOAQUIN D. CASASUS, late Ambassador at Washington, late Director of the National School of Jurisprudence of Mexico, Member of the Hague Court.

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Dr. JOAQUIN OBREGON GONZÁLEZ, Governor of the State of Guanajuato, Member of the Hague Court.

M. JOSÉ IVES LIMANTOUR, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Finance, Member of the Hague Court.

M. PABLO MACEDO, Deputy, President of the Monetary Commission, Director of the National School of Law, Member of the Hague Court.

M. SEBASTIAN B. de MIER, Mexican Minister in Paris, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

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M. F. B. CONINCK LIEFSTING, late President of the Court of Cassation, Member of the Hague Court.

The JONKHEER DEN BEER PORTUGAEL, Lieutenant-General, late Minister of War, Member of the Council of State, Member of the First and Second Hague Conferences.

The JONKHEER J. A. RÖELL, Vice-Admiral retired, Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty, late Minister of Marine, Member of the Second Hague Conference, First Naval Delegate to the Naval Conference in London.

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M. DESIRÉ PECTOR, Member of the Hague Court, Consul-General for France of Nicaragua and Honduras.

Norway—M. JOACHIM GRIEG, late Deputy, Member of Second Hague Conference.

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Dr. CHRISTIAN L. LANGE, Member of the Second Hague Conference, General Secretary of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

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M. MIRZA AHMED KHAN SADIGHUL MULK, Persian Minister at the Hague, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. MIRZA SAMAD-KHAN MONTAZOS SALTANEH, Persian Minister in Paris, Member of the Hague Court and of both Hague Conferences.

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M. FERNANDO MATTOSO SANTOS, late Minister of Finance and of Foreign Affairs, Member of the Hague Court.

OFFICERS, COUNCIL, AND SUPPORTERS xxiii

MARQUIS DE SOVERAL, G.C.M.G., Councillor of State, late Minister for Foreign Affairs, late Portuguese Ambassador in London, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

Roumania—M. CONSTANTIN G. DISSESCU, Senator, late Minister of Justice and of Education, Member of the Hague Court, Member of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, Professor of Law.

Dr. JEAN KALINDERU, late President of the High Court of Cassation and Justice, Member of the Roumanian Academy, Administrator of the Crown Domains, Member of the Hague Court.

M. THEODORE G. ROSETTI, late Premier, late President of the High Court of Cassation, Member of the Hague Court.

Russia—M. J. OVTCHINNIKOW, Professor of International Law, Member of both Hague Conferences.

M. NICOLAS TCHARYKOW, Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

Salvador—M. PEDRO J. MATHEU, Consul-General of Salvador in Spain, Member of the Hague Court and of the Second Hague Conference.

Servia—General SAVA GROUITCH, late President of the Council of State, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. MILOVAN MILOVANOVITCH, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Hague Court and of the Second Hague Conference, late Professor of Law.

M. MILENKO R. VESNITCH, Servian Minister for France and Belgium, late Minister of Justice, late President of the Skouptchina, Member of the Hague Court, late Professor of International Law.

Spain—M. GABRIEL MAURA Y GAMAZO, Comte de la Mortera, Deputy, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

M. EDUARDO DATO IRADIER, President of the Chamber of Deputies, late Minister of the Interior and of Justice, Member of the Hague Court.

M. RAFAEL M. DE LABRA, Senator, Director of Primary Instruction, Member of the Hague Court, Member of the Institute of International Law.

M. RAFAEL DE UREÑA Y SMENJAUD, Member of the Hague Court, Professor of Law.

M. WENCESLAO RAMIREZ DE VILLA URRUTIA, Senator, late Minister for Foreign Affairs, Spanish Ambassador in London, Member of both Hague Conferences.

Sweden—M. JOHAN FREDRIK IVAR AFZELIUS, Deputy, President of the Commission for the Revision of the Law, late Judge of the Supreme Court, Member of the Hague Court.

M. KNUT HJALMÄR LEONARD DE HAMMARSKJÖLD, late Minister of Justice and of Education, late Swedish Minister at Copenhagen, late President of the Court of Appeal of Jönköping, Governor of the Province of Upsala, Member of the Hague Court and of the Second Hague Conference, late Professor of Law.

Switzerland—M. GASTON CARLIN, Swiss Minister in London, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

Dr. EUGEN HÜBER, Member of the National Council, Member of the Hague Court, Professor of Law.

Dr. MAX HUBER, Member of Second Hague Conference, Professor of Law.

Turkey—M. SAÏD BEY, President of the Legislative Section of the Council of State, Member of the Hague Court.

GABRIEL EFFENDI NORADOUNGHIAN, Senator, late Minister of Commerce and Public Works, Member of the Hague Court.

MOUSTAFA RÉCHID PASHA, Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

TURKHAN PASHA, Ottoman Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

United States—The Hon. JOSEPH H. CHOATE, LL.D., late United States Ambassador to Great Britain, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

The Hon. GEORGE B. DAVIS, Judge Attorney General, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

The Hon. JOHN W. GRIGGS, late Attorney-General, Member of the Hague Court.

The Hon. HORACE PORTER, late United States Ambassador in Paris, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

The Hon. URIAH M. ROSE, Ambassador Extraordinary, Member of the Second Hague Conference.

Uruguay—Dr. GONZALO RAMIREZ, Minister of Uruguay at Buenos-Ayres, Professor of International Law in the University of Montevideo, Member of the Hague Court.

Venezuela—Dr. FRANCISCO ARROYO PAREJO, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Public Works, Professor of Civil Law at the University of Caracas, Member of the Hague Court.

Dr. CARLOS LEÓN, late Minister of Public Instruction, late Governor of the Federal District, late Judge at the Court of Cassation, Professor of Sociology and Economics at the University of Caracas, Member of the Hague Court.

General MANUEL ANTONIO MATOS, late Minister of State, late President of the Senate, Member of the Hague Court.

II. Presidents of Parliaments

(At the time of acceptance—A la date d'adhésion.)

Argentina—M. B. VILLANUEVA, President of the Senate.

Belgium—M. le VICOMTE SIMONIS, President of the Senate.

M. COOREMAN, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Brasil—M. QUINTINO BOCAIUVA, President of the Senate.

Bulgaria—Dr. P. ORACHNOWAC, President of the National Assembly.

Canada—The Hon. CHARLES MARCIL, M.P., LL.D., Speaker of the House of Commons of Canada.

Costa Rica—M. RICARDO JIMÉNEZ, President of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Republic for 1910-1914.

Denmark—Dr. CARL GOOS, President of the Senate.

M. CHR. SONNE, (late) President of the Senate.

M. A. THOMSEN, President of Folketing.

France—M. ANTONIN DUBOST, President of the Senate.

M. HENRI BRISSON, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Germany—Graf v. SCHWERIN-LÖWITZ, President of the Reichstag.

Hayti—M. F. P. PAULIN, President of the Senate.

M. GERSON DESROSIER, President of the National Assembly.

Hungary—Count ALBIN CSÁKY, President of the Chamber of Magnates.

M. ALBERT DE BERZEVICZY, President of the Chamber of Deputies.
(See also Section I.)

Count AURÉLE DESSEVFFY, (late) President of the Chamber of Magnates.

Dr. ALEXANDER GÁL, (late) President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Japan—M. S. HASEBA, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Netherlands—M. I. E. N. Baron SCHIMMELPENNINCK VAN DER OYE
DE HOEVELAKEN, President of the Senate.

Portugal—M. JOSÉ JOAQUIM MENDES LEAL, President of the House of Deputies, late Civil Governor.

Romania—General C. BUDISTEANU, President of the Senate.

M. PHÉRÉKYDE, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Russia—M. N. A. HOMIAKOFF, late President of the Duma of the Empire.

Servia—M. A. NIKOLITCH, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Spain—M. le MARQUIS de AZCARRAGA, President of the Senate.

M. EDUARDO DATO IRADIER, President of the Chamber of Deputies
(See also Section I.)

Sweden—M. CHR. LUNDEBERG, President of the First Chamber.

Switzerland—Dr. VIRGILE ROSSEL, President of the National Council
Professor at the University of Berne.

Dr. PAUL USTERI, President of the State Council.

Turkey—His Highness SAÏD PASHA, President of Senate, late Grand Vizier.

M. AHMED RIZA, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

*III. Rulers, Ministers of State, Governors, and Ambassadors**

(At the time of acceptance—A la date d'adhésion.)

Argentina—Dr. V. DE LA PLAZA, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Belgium—M. le COMTE de LALAING, Belgian Minister in London.

M. J. RENKIN, Minister for Colonial Affairs.

Bolivia—M. D. SANCHEZ BUSTAMANTE, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Brazil—M. le MARÉCHAL HERMES da FONSECA, President of the Republic.

Bulgaria—M. HEDJI MISCHÉFF, Bulgarian Chargé d'Affaires in London.

General PAPRIKOFF, Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

China—M. YIN-CH'ANG, Chinese Minister in Berlin.

M. LI CHING FONG, K.E.V.O., Chinese Minister in London.

M. WOU TSUNG-LIEN, Chinese Minister at Rome.

Colombia—M. C. CALDERON, (late) Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Denmark—M. LIMPRICHT, Governor of the Danish West India Islands.

France—M. G. ANGOULVANT, C.M.G., Governor of French Ivory Coast.

M. VICTOR AUGAGNEUR, Governor-General of Madagascar.

M. DIDELOT, Administrator of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon.

M. LIOTARD, Lt.-Governor of French Guinea.

M. PASCAL, Governor of French Somaliland.

Germany—Dr. ALBERT HAHN, Governor of German New Guinea.

Dr. SOLF, Governor of Samoan Islands.

Great Britain—Admiral Sir DAY H. BOSANQUET, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., J.P., D.L., Governor of South Australia.

Sir CAVENDISH BOYLE, K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mauritius.

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Sir THOMAS DAVID GIBSON-CARMICHAEL, Bart., K.C.M.G., M.A., D.L., Governor of Victoria.

Lt.-Colonel HENRY LIONEL GALLWEY, C.M.G., D.S.O., Governor of St. Helena.

His Highness the RAJA OF KANIKA.

Sir EVERARD IM THURN, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific.

The Hon. WILLIAM KIDSTON, Prime Minister of Queensland.

Sir GEORGE R. LE HUNTE, K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Trinidad and Tobago.

Sir JAMES H. S. LOCKHART, K.C.M.G., Commissioner of Waihaiwai.

Sir WILLIAM MACGREGOR, G.C.M.G., C.B., M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.F.P.S., Governor of Queensland.

His Highness THE MAHARAJA BAHADUR of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E.

His Highness THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA, Bahadur of Burdwan.

His Highness MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., etc., etc.

The Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK ROBERT MOOR, P.C., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., M.L.A., Prime Minister of Natal.

Lt.-Col. Sir N. J. MOORE, K.C.M.G., Premier of Western Australia.

The Hon. J. H. P. MURRAY, Lt.-Governor of Papua.

The Hon. JOHN MURRAY, Premier of Victoria.

His Highness THE NAWAB of Dacca.

Sir SYDNEY OLIVIER, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica.

The Hon. A. C. RUTHERFORD, Prime Minister of Alberta, Canada.

Lieut.-Col. Sir JAMES HAYES SADLER, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Windward Islands.

The Hon. J. W. SAUER, M.L.D., Minister of Railways and Harbours of the Dominion of United South Africa.

His Highness RAJA AIPUDAMAN SINGH of NABHA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

* See also under Sections I. and II.—Voir aussi Sections I. et II.

- Colonel Sir ERIC JOHN EAGLES SWAYNE, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of British Honduras.
- The Hon. CHARLES GREGORY WADE, K.C., Prime Minister of New South Wales.
- The Right Hon. Sir JOSEPH G. WARD, K.C.M.G., LL.D., Premier of New Zealand.
- Greece*—M. J. GENNADIUS, Greek Minister in London.
- Guatemala*—M. ESTRADA CABRERA, President of the Republic.
- Hayti*—M. MURAT CLAUDE, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction.
- M. C. FOUCHARD, Haytian Minister in Berlin.
- M. GEORGES SYLVAIN, Haytian Minister in Paris.
- M. DURACINE VAVAL, Haytian Minister in London.
- Honduras*—General MIGUEL R. DAVILA, President of the Republic.
- Dr. LUIS LAZO ARRIAGA, Minister of Honduras at Washington.
- Italy*—M. L. CREDARO, Minister of Public Instruction.
- Liberia*—M. ARTHUR BARCLAY, President of the Republic.
- M. J. CROMMELIN, Liberian Minister in London.
- M. M. DINKLAGE, Chargé d'Affaires for Liberia in Germany.
- The Hon. F. E. R. JOHNSON, Secretary of State.
- Mexico*—M. MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS, Mexican Minister in London.
- Netherlands*—Dr. D. FOCK, Governor of Surinam, late Colonial Minister, Member of the Institut Colonial International.
- Baron GERICKE VAN HERWIJNEN, Netherlands Minister in London.
- M. J.-H. de WAAL MALEFYT, Minister for Colonial Affairs.
- Dr. Th. J. A. NUYENS, Governor of Curaçao, West Indies.
- Baron A. J. QUARLES DE QUARLES, Governor of Island of Celebes.
- Nicaragua*—M. JOSÉ MADRIZ, President of the Republic.
- Persia*—M. HAKIM-EL-MOLK, Minister of Public Instruction.
- M. MAHMOUD KHAN, Persian Minister at Brussels, Corresponding Member of the Lisbon Geographical Society.
- M. MIRZA MEHDI KHAN MUSHIR-UL-MULK, Persian Minister in London.
- M. MOHTACHEMOS-SALTANEH, Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- M. MIRZA MOUSTAPHA KHAN SAFAOL MEMALEK, Persian Minister in Vienna.
- M. ISAAC KHAN MOFAKHAM-ED-DOVLEH, Persian Minister at Rome.
- M. MOKHER-ES-SALTANEH, Governor-General of Azerbaidjan (Tabriz).
- M. MIRZA MAHMOUD KHAN EHTECHAM-OS-SALTANE, Persian Minister in Berlin.
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- Peru*—M. EDUARDO LEMBCKE, Chargé d'Affaires of Peru in London.
- Portugal*—M. A. A. FREIRE D'ANDRADE, Governor-General of Portuguese East Africa.
- M. MAGALHAES LIMA, Portuguese Minister in London.
- M. MARQUES, Governor of Macao.
- M. ROCADAS, Governor of Angola.
- Roumania*—M. A. C. CATARGI, Roumanian Minister in London.
- Salvador*—General F. FIGUEROA, President of the Republic.
- Servia*.—M. S. Y. GROUITCH, Servian Chargé d'Affaires.
- Siam*.—The Ven. P. C. JINAVARAVANSA, S'yām Rājakumāra Nāyaka Thera, M.R.A.S. (the late Col. Prince Prisdang, C.M.G., etc., of Siam), Ratna Cheti'yārāma, Colombo.
- Spain*.—M. FIDE LEON Y CASTILLO, MARQUIS DEL MUNI, Senator, late Minister of State, Spanish Ambassador in Paris.
- Sweden*.—Count H. WRANGEL, Swedish Minister in London.
- Turkey*.—NAOUM PASHA, Turkish Ambassador in Paris.
- RIFAAT PASHA, Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- TEWFIK PASHA, Turkish Ambassador in London.
- Venezuela*.—General JUAN VICENTE GOMEZ, President of the Republic.
- United States*.—T. J. O'BRIEN, LL.D., United States Ambassador at Tokyo.

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HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE DE CASSANO, Rome.

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Fakir SYED IFTIKHARUDDIN, British Agent at Kaboul.

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Prof. Dr. MAX GRÜNERT, Rector of the German University in Prague.

Prof. Dr. WLADYSLAW HEINRICH (*Philosophy*, U. of Cracow).

Dr. FRIEDRICH HERTZ, Vienna, Author.

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PAPERS

FIRST SESSION

FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

MEANING OF RACE, TRIBE, NATION

By BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., Ph.D.,

Principal, Maharajah of Cooch Behar's College, Cooch Behar, India.

IF modern civilisation is distinguished from all other civilisations by its scientific basis, the problems that this civilisation presents must be solved by the methods of Science. The evolution of Universal Humanity through the concourse and conflict of Nationalities and Empires is too vast and complex for the analytical methods of Aristotelian or Machiavellian Politics, the so-called Historical Schools of Montesquieu or Vico, the arbitrary standards of the Law of Nature, or of Nations, or the learned decisions of international jurists. Modern Science, first directed to the conquest of Nature, must now be increasingly applied to the organisation of Society. But, in this process, Science is no longer in the merely physico-chemical, or even in the merely biological plane, but is lifted to the sociological and historical platform. A scientific study of the constituent elements and the composition of races and peoples, of their origin and development, and of the forces that govern these, will alone point the way to a settlement of inter-racial claims and conflicts on a sound progressive basis, the solution of many an administrative problem in the composite United States and the heterogeneous British Empire, and even the scope and methods of social legislation in every modern State.

Physical Anthropology with its permanent anatomical types, cultural Ethnology with its geographical zones of ethnic culture, the Philosophy of History with its law of three or more stages, have made notable contributions to this end. But their conflicting claims must be harmonised. A synthetic view of Race is possible,

only when we consider it not as a statical, but as a dynamical entity, plastic, fluent, growing, with energies not exhaust, but superimposing layer upon layer like the earth, its scene, still subject to the primal forces that have built up the bed-rocks in their order of sequence and distribution. This is the point of view of genetic Anthropology. It will study Race and Racial Types as developing entities, tracing the formation of physical stocks or types as radicles, their growth and transmutation into ethnic cultural units (clans, tribes, peoples), and finally, the course of their evolution into historical nationalities. A study of genetic conditions and causes, of the biological, psychological, sociological forces at work, which have shaped and governed the rise, growth, and decadence of Races of Man, can alone enable us to guide and control the future evolution of Humanity by conscious selection in intelligent adaptation to the system and procedure of Nature.

Race, Variety, Species.—Physical Anthropology must turn to the systematists for definitions of these terms. Not that the Systematists are agreed in theory or in practice. The line between "good" and "bad" species remains as uncertain as when Kerner discussed the question. But by general consensus, such classifications are based on the following considerations:—

- (1) Degree of likeness in characters (morphological and physiological);
- (2) Degree of stability or constancy of the like characters ;
- (3) Degree of fertility of unions within the group as well as outside, after groups have been tentatively formed by considerations of likeness and stability ; and
- (4) Degree of community of blood, descent or kinship.

First, we group together individuals resembling one another with some certain degree of distinctness in one or more characters which are peculiar, *i.e.*, by which such an assemblage is differentiated from allied assemblages. If we then find that the distinctive characters are not stable but more or less readily modifiable, and either (1) that they are not uniformly transmitted to offspring within certain limits of allowable variation, or not so transmitted under some certain change of environment, neither very violent nor very sudden, or (2) that they are definitely known to have been induced by recent change of environment, the assemblage is regarded as a variety (climatic or otherwise). If, again, we find that the peculiar characters, though stable and uniformly transmissible under the above conditions and limitations, are not sufficiently distinct, or "present but small degrees of divergence from those of allied groups," we class the group as a constant variety. Now, when the common and peculiar characters of a group are distinct, stable and transmissible (hereditary) within wide limits of environmental change, it is usually found that the individuals of such a group breed together in a state of nature, and are more

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or less exclusively fertile among themselves ; in other words, when crossed with individuals of even allied groups, they produce offspring which are more or less infertile *inter se*, in the first or the second generation. Such a group may be provisionally regarded as a species. But it is also often found that, within the group, there are certain subordinate aggregates which may be differentiated from one another by the same kind of tests that were employed in forming the group itself, though these traits are present in a markedly inferior degree. In other words, the subordinate aggregates are marked off by peculiar distinct hereditary characters, and they show greater fertility in the second, third, and succeeding generations, *inter se*, than when crossed with other subordinate groups. Such a subordinate group may be said to form a subspecies or race.

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Application to Man.—I. Like Characters : Formation of Types.—

Essentially unsound are all classifications based on a single character, whether it is the pigmentation of skin, hair, and iris, the texture of hair with shape of transverse section, the nasal index, the cephalic index, or the geometrical varieties of the cranial or the facial form. Nor does it help to employ single characters successively in continued sub-division, *e.g.*, first dividing by hair, sub-dividing by pigmentation, sub-dividing still by cranial and facial form, or in the reverse order. This dislocates natural affinities, and frustrates a sound serial arrangement.

It is necessary to adopt biometric methods in studying characters and variations, and to find the mean or means by co-ordination and seriation. Averages are apt to be misleading, and conceal the differences of type that may exist in a group, except where very extensive observations have been made under a variety of conditions. The range of variations in a character is as important an index as the character itself, and the variations should be studied, not merely among the adults, but with reference to sex and ontogenetic (including embryonic) development, as well as to reversion and retrogression. These are of great value in determining the pure stocks in a heterogeneous mixture as well as racial affinities and distinctions.

We may arrange the types of physical race in several ways—

(1) We may classify them as primary, secondary, tertiary, and so on, but this can not be properly done until the effects of environment and miscegenation have been studied by the biologist, and not by the statistical empiric, as has often been the case. When sufficient data are available, we may represent the formation of the physical types by a modified genealogical tree (with devices for intercrossing and retrogression), or by symbols and formulæ analogous to those of organic chemistry (as in arranging isomers, polymers, &c.). But even chemistry is becoming increasingly evolutionary, and the descent of the elements

(and their seven or sixteen races), with the position, say, of the helium-argon group, will shortly be discussed as hotly as the affinities of the Mediterranean race.

(2) A second way would be to arrange the types in space (or, more simply, on a plane surface), the distances along different directions marking the degree of affinity as estimated by three (or two) groups of correlated characters (*cf.* the horizontal and vertical rows of the periodic classification in chemistry).

(3) A third way would be to conceive an ideal type as the goal towards which the normal development of the organism is tending, and to place the actual types round this as a centre, at distances corresponding, more or less, to their approximation to the ideal. The difference between the second and the third method is that while the former is statical, the latter is dynamical. Though the third method is not quite feasible, an occasional application of this test of normal or standard development is a useful corrective.

General Remarks on Morphological Characters.—The morphological characters most useful in distinguishing types of physical race are not necessarily of zoonomic interest. Many of the marks are non-adaptive and useless. As Topinard notes, the facial angle is a rational character in craniometry, but the nasal index of which no rational (or zoonomic) explanation is available, is far more valuable as a racial mark. Secondary parts best furnish such distinctive traits. Again, most of the morphological distinctions do not connote vitality, or a high or low place in the normal scale of development. The head and the foot do not vary among races according to their order of superiority. A long head (a so-called simian character), or a long foot, is not a characteristic of inferiority. Taking prognathism (the true or sub-nasal prognathism), while all races are prognathous, some of the neolithic European races were less prognathous than modern Europeans (*e.g.*, Parisians); and the Polynesians of the purest blood, and (probably) the Tasmanians come nearer to the white races than the yellow races or the African Negroes (Topinard). As Weisbach remarks, each race has its share of the characteristics of inferiority. As regards the ideal of normal development for the human body, it is disputed whether the infantile or the adult condition of man makes the nearest approach to it. The young of the anthropoid apes and of man are somewhat alike, but the adult in both cases falls away from this, not in the same direction but along collateral lines, the deviation being much greater in the adult ape than in the adult man. On the whole, as Havelock Ellis notes, "the yellow races are nearest to the infantile condition" (in brachycephaly, scanty hair, proportion of trunk and limbs); "Negroes and Australians are farthest removed from it (though not always in the direction of the ape); the Caucasian races occupy an intermediate position. In the nose" (and also in the well-developed calves as contrasted with the Negro's spindle-legs) "they are at the farthest remove from the ape; in the hairy covering they recede from the human and approach the ape. The lowest races

are in some respects more highly evolved than the white Caucasian races." From the *ensemble* of osteological characters, it appears that the Australians, the South Sea Islanders, and the Negritos have affinities to the *Pithecanthropus erectus*, the Polynesians to the Orang, the Negroes to the Gorilla, the Mongols to the Chimpanzee, and two of the original European types; the Neanderthal man and the Aurignac man, to the Gorilla and the Orang respectively (Klaatsch).

Physiological and Pathological Characters: General Remarks.—

The characters relating to metabolism and reproduction are of greater bionomic value than any of the morphological ones. The number of red corpuscles and the amount of hæmoglobin in the blood, the pulse-rate, the vital capacity, the muscular strength, the amount of urea in the urine, are different in different races. But they depend in part on the quantity of proteid consumption. This has been conclusively established by clinical researches in India into the metabolism of peoples with a vegetarian diet. Indeed, some of the morphological characters (*e.g.*, pigmentation of skin, hair, and eye, amount and distribution of hairy covering, &c.), are themselves due to physico-chemical processes connected with the metabolism (as well as the secretions) of the organism. The racial differences in muscular force and in vital capacity (as measured by the dynamometer and the spirometer), like those in stature and weight, depend on conditions of nutrition and habitat (including climate), though the costal breathing of civilised as contrasted with the abdominal breathing of uncivilised women has arisen from conventions of dress. The depth and range of the voice also furnish racial characters. In the lower races (as in women), the larynx is less developed than in the higher, and the voice is shriller. Still the Germans are not at the top; the Tartars appear to have even louder and more powerful voices. Thus sexual selection (if this is the origin), like natural selection, does not always work advantageously for the so-called higher races, nor in all directions.

The resistance to particular local diseases that marks particular races may have been due to the elimination of the more susceptible through that selective mortality, which, in the view of Karl Pearson and Archdall Reid, is the most effective instrument of natural selection among the races of men.

Acclimation appears to depend in part on the quantity of water in the organism, the tropics requiring more water than temperate countries (Kochs). On the other hand, cold climates require more proteid than hot. Pure or primitive stocks are less easily acclimated than civilised (or mixed) stocks; the latter are more cosmopolitan. Loss of vital energy owing to chemical changes in metabolism, incapacity to resist diseases of bacterial origin (the phagocytes in the

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blood being without the supply of the requisite opsons), and, finally, sterility or diminishing fertility of the germ-plasm due to changes in the environment, food, and habits of life—these are the circumstances that set a limit to the cosmopolitanism of a race, and baffle successful acclimation and colonisation.

II. *Stability of Characters and Type.*—Both morphological and physiological characters change with change of environment. The chemical changes due to the new conditions of climate or nutrition act upon the “hormones” and enzymes, stimulate cell-growth, induce changes of form in the somatic tissues, and, sometimes, affecting the germ-plasm, become hereditary. This is not merely in the fungi, algæ, flowering plants (Klebs), or in protozoa, sponges, sea-urchins (Roux, Herbst), or in insects (Weismann, Tower, &c.), but also in domesticated animals and in man. The rate of change and the amount vary, being less in pure stocks of long standing and more in mixed or recent stocks.

Evidence is gradually accumulating to show that other morphological characters, *e.g.*, the changes rung on a few simple varieties of geometrical form, in the structure of the hair, the face, the orbits, the nose, the cranium and the pelvis, are not so stable as some physical anthropologists would fain believe. That remarkable osteological changes of this description may be induced in mammals &c., by the action of environment, has indeed been long known (*e.g.*, in the *niata* cattle, the Java ponies, the Gangetic crocodiles, not to mention oysters and crabs). And the recent careful inquiry of Professor Boas into the anatomical characters of United States immigrants, under the direction of the Immigration Committee of Congress, shows that profound changes of head-form (cephalic index) occur under the influence of American environment, in the American-born descendants of immigrants as compared with the foreign-born immigrants of the same races; that the amount of change in the American-born depends in part on the period of their immigrant mothers' stay in America before their birth; that the rate of change decreases as this period increases, and finally that the changes make the most divergent types (*e.g.*, East European Hebrews and Sicilians) converge and approach to a uniform type in this respect. The cephalic index in man, even if it were not otherwise open to dispute as confounding real distinctions of shape, seems to be unstable under special conditions. That the changes of head-form in American-born children are persistent and hereditary under American conditions may be presumed from the fact that they are in the direction of the normal American type. That there may be a reversion with a return to European conditions cannot be urged as an objection against one who denies

the racial significance of this cephalic character. The persistence of the Neanderthal type or the Aurignac type, so far as this is a fact, may be due to the operation of similar conditions, or the absence of special modifying agencies, or, in some instances, to atavism, reversion or freaks.

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Proto-man.—A proto-human type with primitive characters must be assumed as the starting-point, a generalised type from which all the pure primary stocks of Man may be derived by further differentiation and specialisation along different collateral lines in special environments.

The Proto-man as a more generalised form possessed this (phylogenetic) variability in a greater measure, and his skull, cerebral mass and cerebral convolutions have shown striking changes; in other words, the evolution of man has been rapid and continuous in the direction in which he differentiated from the anthropoids. For example, the cranial capacity of the gorilla is about 450 c.c.; of the *Pithecanthropus erectus*, in Upper Pliocene, about 900 c.c.; of the Neanderthal man, in middle Pleistocene, about 1,250 c.c.; and of the Cro-Magnon man of the lower alluvium about 1,500 c.c. The progress was most marked in the earlier stages, and gradually slowed down.

All this cerebral change is the index of a rapid psychic variation. Even in the case of the higher animals, the psychic (and social) characters are of "zoogenic" value, influencing the course of animal evolution and the origin of species among the higher vertebrates (birds and mammals), *e.g.*, through sexual selection, gregarious impulses, instincts of species-preservation, mutual aid and sympathy. It is these psycho-social characters of the organism that chiefly differentiate Man from the animals. They ensure the exercise of that foresight, control, and co-ordination which are the chief marks of bionomic progress. Besides, what is of vital importance, these psycho-social characters (and therefore the Racial types of Man whereof they are constituent elements) are marked by that greater range, variability and plasticity of response (*i.e.*, of the internal factor in organic evolution), which is the concomitant of all higher and more complex organisation. As such, they furnish some new developments, especially an extending range of wants, and the phenomena of choice and conscious control which condition the operation of natural selection, and determine its direction, though they do not by any means suspend it. Hence it is that no view of civilisation is sound or adequate which considers Race and Racial types statically, and not dynamically as growing, developing, progressive entities.

The Social Instinct.—The same struggle for existence which develops the egoistic impulses also develops the ego-altruistic and the altruistic. Social life survives as the best aid to the maintenance of the individual as well as the species. And the social instincts thus evolved have left their impress on the physical type. It has been held with some plausibility that a developed sociality gave a longer pairing arrangement in the primitive human family, with prolonged human infancy, and that this brought on the more developed brain with the erect position. This sociality manifests itself in sympathy, imitation, play, communicativeness, association, which all spread by the law of surface expansion, *i.e.*, in geometrical progression, by creating new centres of diffusion. All this prepared the way for the origin of language.

Psychology of Primitive Peoples.—The scientific anthropologist must beware of one vulgar error on pain of being taken for a caricaturist. The primitive psychical type like the physical differs from ours not by being abnormal or pathological, but only by being undeveloped and rudimentary. The normal movement is from the mind of the ape to that of the civilised man; and the appearance of any new factor in proto-man or prehistoric man, be it conceptual language or reasoning, religion or art, magic or myth, marriage or property, must be sought, in its origin, along this line of advance, and in the normal experience of the race. Sometimes we have to deal with abnormal or pathological phenomena among primitive or "natural" races, *e.g.*, trance phenomena, black magic, cannibalism, revolting puberty rites, orgies, sexual perversions and inversions, &c., just as we find the same in the civilised peoples of to-day; but then we must analyse them as such. Some of these arise by temporary excess or defect of normal impulses; and when they survive in the present day, they are not survivals in the true sense, but arise from similar excesses or defects of the same normal impulses in civilised man. Excesses of sensuality, and many superstitions, are of this class. As to the anti-social impulses, it must be remembered that some of them arise in the struggle for existence, and are to that extent normal. Sociality went *pari passu* with egoism. Sympathy within the horde was no doubt of adaptive value, but it was the correlative of antipathy outside the horde, which was equally adaptive at the origin.

But as sociality is ultimately more adaptive or life-maintaining, it has gone on, expanding its circle, and the anti-social impulses have contracted theirs; the evolution of Man has been, and will be, the evolution of Sociality, within the limits of the complete and free personal life. If, therefore, we find anti-social excesses

among savages, they are also in many cases not abnormal but only rudimentary. But there are other phenomena which are abnormal, pathological, implying degenerative transformation of structure or function. Cannibalism, promiscuity, Morgan's consanguineous marriage, group-marriage, infanticide, black magic, &c., are of this class. In the first place, they are far outside the line from the ape to the civilised man. The higher apes had already begun to avoid too close in-breeding, and to live in jealously guarded polygynous-family hordes, or pairing families, more or less enduring. And secondly, natural selection would ruthlessly weed out stocks in which such impulses would be normal. It follows, therefore, that, when such phenomena appear, as they undoubtedly do, among savages or primitive folk, they are not part and parcel of their normal physio-psycho-social type, but are phenomena of degeneration or retrogression in those peoples. They are not samples of the normal savage mind, much less of the mind of Proto-man, who was a plastic and progressive being, not arrested, and not decadent, as savages in many cases have come to be in their isolated and inhospitable habitats.

Cultural Race.—This comprehends in intimate inter-dependence :

(1) Grades of material culture with elaboration of useful Arts, and traditions (*e.g.*, those connected with food, fire, shelter, disposal of the dead, fishing, hunting, war, medicinal and other healing, basket and textile weaving, pottery, decoration, mechanical inventions, domestication of animals, pasture, agriculture, writing, weights and measures, coins ;—in more or less successive epochs, *e.g.*, the stick-using, eolithic, palæolithic, mesolithic, neolithic, eneolithic, bronze, and iron ages—with several layers in each age, *e.g.*, the Chellean, Mousterian, Solutrian, Lower and Upper Aurignacian, and Magdalenian epochs of palæolithic Europe, &c.).

(2) Grades of ethnic culture, with elaboration of social structures, and of customs (the economic, juristic, socio-ceremonial, religious, and political traditions).

The unit of the social structure was the horde, a small polygynous family-horde, rather than a pairing family. Composite structures were produced by genetic multiplication, fission, aggregation, coalescence, absorption, assimilation, adoption, initiation, conquest and capture.

The composite social structures that were thus evolved appeared in the following order :—

(1) Family groups and possibly local exogamous groups by fission and aggregation ; (2) clans, metronymic or patronymic, totemistic or eponymous, exogamous or endogamous, or both, with "beena," or with wife capture, purchase or expropriation ; (3) sometimes, phratries, classes, &c. ; (4) tribes, based on agnatic or female kinship, or cemented by common good and ill, or common vendetta, or common land and water, or participation in the communal land, or adoption into the village community or township as strangers or as servi ; (5) confederacies of tribes, or peoples.

But all this is composite aggregation of like units by duplication or repetition of parts. In structure as in function a people is a big tribe, a tribe is a big phratry or clan, a clan is a big family-group, a family-group is a big family.

Every one of these groups performed four functions, though not indifferently, or in the same degree.

- (1) Economic, by provision of communal food, and communal shelter ;
- (2) Socio-ceremonial, at feasts, games, choral dances ;
- (3) Juristic, by the inviolable custom of blood-feuds, &c. ; and
- (4) Religious in communal worship and propitiation of the common ancestors, tribal deities, and jungle or other spirits.

This compound structure is characteristic of low organisms, (*e.g.*, the colonies of the Hydroïdea the compound eye, &c.). The units are not sufficiently differentiated, the whole is not sufficiently coherent. The superior aggregate cannot control the ultimate units except through semi-independent intervening media. The jurisdiction is particulate. As Morgan observes, the plan of government in the tribal stage deals with individuals through their relations to the gens or clan. Status is all in all, and individuation is only rudimentary. The social acts of the individual, as Hermann Post remarks, are all determined by the assumptions on which his society is based—postulates, social categories, embodied in custom or law. These traditions are quasi-instinctive, and constitute the essential moments of ethnic entity or cultural Race.¹

National Race.—The third stage evolves a complex and coherent structure, by redistributing the elements of the previous composite formations. Differentiation of the individual and central coherence go together. In other words, while the individual begins to be differentiated from the family and the clan, the Nation by its central organ, the State, deals with the individual directly, by gradually usurping and annulling all intermediary jurisdictions. Family-groups within clans, and clans within tribes, duplicating structure and function, cannot constitute a nation. The uniformity of the family-clan-tribe-people stage must be broken up.² The individual units and lower aggregates are more and more differen-

¹ If the individual organism is maintained by the balance of hereditary conservation and progressive variation, cultural Race is maintained by the balance of two corresponding capacities, viz., the cumulation of experience in the form of tradition, and modification by new experience and growing wants. As Ratzel points out, the most profound differences among ethnic civilisations arise out of the varying degrees of these two fundamental capacities. But the capacities themselves, like all other bio-sociological characters, are plastic, fluent, developable under suitable conditions and stimuli.

² Even in this stage there had been a progressive specialisation of functions, more especially in the tribe and the confederacy.

tiated by division of labour and specialisation of interests. Occupational castes, guilds, classes, corporations, gradually take the place of the older ethnic groups. Personal law based on kinship gives place more and more to territorial law based on allegiance. The coherence thus becomes more effective, more direct. Whether the government is vested in one or many, a nation always begins by creating an absolute central authority. In the intermediate feudal stage, the State deals with the individual through his overlord or corporation, but a true national government can only rise on the ruins of the feudal system, by creating an absolute central power.¹ Constitutions and constitutionalism are a later growth, effected through the differentiation and separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of this sovereign authority.

Pari passu with the increasing variability of response in the individual, which is itself the cause and concomitant of individual emancipation from the family and clan, is developed the increasing variability of the social mind, and the phenomenon of social choice. The customs, traditions, postulates of social life so long rigidly determined the responses of the social organism, but now these responses show the characteristics of all complex evolution, viz., indefinite variability, deliberative veto, purposive control, rational choice of alternative. These choices, of course, obey the biological law of adaptation and survival of the fittest, but the spontaneous process of natural selection becomes a conscious organised rational selection determined by ideal satisfactions or ends. A nation, then, is a conscious social personality, exercising rational choice as determined by a scheme of ideal ends or values, and having an organ, the State, for announcing and executing its will. Law is nothing but the standing Will of the national Personality, and the old customary now receives its sanction explicitly or implicitly from this Will. All members of a truly National State are integral members of this Composite Personality, but the individual units are themselves Persons, and, therefore, self-determining Wills.

The common membership of the State gradually replaces all the old bonds of common descent or kinship, common religion, common social customs, common personal law, common cultural stock, even a common language. The existence of theocratic codes, servile classes, ethnic disabilities, privileged classes, *co-ordinate* jurisdictions (ecclesiastical, feudal, municipal), retards the free and normal development of a National Race, and these ethnic survivals disappear in adult nationality.

This centralisation itself makes for decentralisation within the limits of the State paramountcy.

¹ *E.g.*, the recent case of Japan.

Voluntary associations, companies, corporations (Universities, Inns of Court, Social Reform-Associations, political parties, commercial firms, banks and services unions, trusts, co-operative agencies, &c.) extend this decentralisation within limits of State supervision secured by charters, registrations, and licences. Local self-governments carry the decentralisation still further by delegation of State functions to local bodies. But the sphere and scope of State legislation, in other words, the limits (other than those of Justice) within which the social personality is bound to tolerate and respect the personality of its members in their activities to realise their own schemes of values and ends, is a hyper-constitutional question, and must depend on the free consensus of the members themselves, whether in an explicit form or as implied by continued membership of the State.

With increasing decentralisation, the State with its ally, the Church, ceases to formulate economic, social or domestic standards or values. The individual members, as self-determining Personalities, exercise rational choice, and are determined by ideal ends and values. The National Ideal is now lifted to a higher platform. It no longer competes with the ideals of individuals. It becomes truly a regulative Ideal—the Ideal of harmonising, fulfilling, realising, in each and all of the members, their personal, social, national and cosmic ideals and values.

Political Art, then, consists in the national adaptation of the Environment, both Natural and Social, to the realisation, by the national Personality (which is a regulative moment of every individual Personality) and in the persons of the individual members themselves, of the highest ideal values, which they choose and propose to themselves as free self-determining agents.

But Nationalism is only a halting stage in the onward march of Humanity. Nationalism, Imperialism, Federationism are world-building forces, working often unconsciously, and in apparent strife, towards the one far-off divine event, a realised Universal Humanity with an organic and organised constitution, superintending as a *primum mobile* the movements of subordinate members of the World-system, each within its own sphere and orbit. Respecting each National Personality, and each scheme of National values and ideals, Universal Humanity will regulate the conflict of Nations and National Ideals and Values on the immutable foundation of Justice, which is but the conscious formulation of the fundamental bio-sociological law: that every National Personality (like every individual personality in the Nation) has a right to the realisation of its own ideal ends, satisfactions and values within the limits imposed by the similar rights of others (individualistic Justice), and also a right

to co-partnership and co-operation for the common good and common advantage (socialistic Justice), within the limits imposed by the preceding clause.

Such is the fundamental principle of International Jurisprudence. A realised Universal Humanity on this immutable basis is the goal of a Universal Races Congress like this.

Of the various non-political agencies which may be useful in promoting the objects of such a Congress, one or two are noted below :—

(1) The organisation of a World's Humanity League (not an Aborigines Protection Society), with branches, committees, and bureaus in different countries. The chief object should be to promote mutual understanding, among members of different races, peoples, nationalities, of one another's national ideals, social schemes, and regulative world-ideas. Congresses may be held under the auspices of the League in different centres. Thinkers from the East should be regularly invited to explain their own national or racial cultures and standpoints at meetings organised by the different branches in the West ; and *vice versâ*.

(2) The endowment of Professorships of Oriental Civilisation and Culture in Western Universities and Academies, to be held by Orientals from the countries concerned ; and *mutatis mutandis* in the East (in countries in which European civilisation does not already hold a dominant position). No scheme of national values, ideals, cultures, in one word, world-ideas, will in the present day be dealt with by foreigners, as other than curiosities of an Archæological Museum (or an Entomological Laboratory).

(3) The publication of an International Journal of Comparative Civilisation, which would serve as a medium for the exchange of international views on economic, domestic, social, religious and political problems of the day from the different national standpoints ; and would also expound the origin and developments of social institutions in the different national histories. The Journal would have for its chief object the application of the biological, sociological, and historical Sciences to the problems of present-day legislation and administration.

(4) Some organised effort, if possible, against the anti-social and anti-humanitarian tendencies of the modern political situation ; such as the colour prejudice, the forcible shutting of the door in the West against the East, with the forcible breaking it open in the East in favour of the West ; national chauvinism ; national aggressiveness, and war.

Our motto is Harmony.

[Paper submitted in English.]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF RACE

By Dr. FELIX VON LUSCHAN,

Professor of Anthropology in the University of Berlin.

COLOURED people are often described as savage races, but it is comparatively rare to find any attempt to give a proper definition of "coloured" and "savage."

A certain order issued by a European Governor in Africa once stated what Negroes, Arabs, Hindus, Portuguese, Greeks, and other coloured people, had to do on meeting a white man, and in the German Reichstag one of the successors of Bismarck once spoke of the Samoans as a "handful of savages." Again, many books have been written on the differences between races of men, and serious scientists have tried in vain to draw up an exact definition of what really constitutes the difference between savage and civilised races. It is very easy to speak of "Greeks and other coloured people"; but some assign the ancient Greeks to the group of civilised races, and are so severe in their division as to exclude from that group the ancient Romans as half-barbarians.

The division of mankind into active and passive races is an old one. Since then an attempt was made to put "twilight" races between the "day" races and the "night" races, and the Japanese were included in this group of "Dämmerungs-Menschen"—the Japanese, who are now in the van of human civilisation in Asia, and who have, perhaps, saved the mental freedom of Europe at Tshushima and on the battle-fields of Manchuria.

Still weaker and more objectionable is the division as to colour. We now know that colour of skin and hair is only the effect of environment, and that we are fair only because our ancestors lived for thousands, or probably tens of thousands, of years in sunless and foggy countries. Fairness is nothing else but lack of pigment, and our ancestors lost part of their pigment because they did not need it. Just as the Proteus sanguineus and certain beetles became blind in caves, where their eyes were useless, so we poor fair people have to wear dark glasses and gloves when walking on a glacier, and get our skin burned when we expose it unduly to the light of the sun.

It is therefore only natural that certain Indian races and the Singhalese are dark; but it would be absurd to call them "savage" on that account, as they have an ancient civilisation, and had a noble and refined religion at a time when our own ancestors had a very low standard of life.

Some men say that coloured people are "ugly." They should be reminded that beauty is very relative, and that our own idea of beauty is subject to changes of fashion. We know, too, that artists so refined as the Japanese find our large eyes and our high noses horrid.

It is also said of the primitive races that they are not as cleanly as we are. Those who say this, however, forget the dirt of Eastern Europe, and are ignorant that most primitive men bathe every day, and that the Bantu and many other Africans clean their teeth after every meal for more than half an hour with their *msuaki*, while, on the contrary, millions of Europeans never use a tooth-brush.

So it is with dress. Ethnography teaches us that primitive man can have a highly developed sense of modesty, though naked, and we all know how immodest one can be in silk and velvet.

The same can be said of the lack of written language. It is true that most primitive men are Analphabets, but so are 90 per cent. of the Russians ; and we know that memory is generally much stronger with the illiterates than with us. It may very well be that the very invention of writing led to a deterioration of our memory.

Most frequently "savages" are accused of being weak in abstract thinking, like children. To show how such opinions originate, I beg to relate a single case lately reported to me by one of my friends. A young colonial officer buys a basket and asks the name of it in the native language. The first native says, "That is of straw"; another native says that they also make them of rushes. One of the two seemed to have lied, so each of them received twenty-five lashes. A third native is called. He says, "This basket is plaited," and gets twenty-five also. The next native affirms that the basket is nearly new, and gets twenty-five. The next, that he does not know whose basket it is, &c. The final result of this scientific investigation is two hundred lashes ; and the white man writes in his notebook : "These natives here are brutes, not men." The black man says to his friends, "This fellow belong white is not proper in his save box," and thinks it safer to keep at a good distance from him ; and a certain scientist at home gets a splendid illustration of his theory of the poor intellect of savage man and of his weakness in abstract thinking.

I once personally witnessed how a would-be linguist tried to learn Kurdish from a Kurd, with whom he could only just speak by means of a Turkish and French interpreter. He began with one of the famous phrases in Ahn's Grammar, in the style of "my brother's pocketknife is prettier than your mother's prayerbook," and wanted to have it translated into Kurdish. The result was rather poor, and my pseudo-linguist soon gave it up, saying that the Kurds were so stupid that they did not know even their own language. My own private impression was somewhat different, and I took great care afterwards to convince my Kurdish friend that not all Europeans were so silly and impatient as his first interviewer.

In former times it was not so much the mental and material culture of foreign races, as their anatomical qualities, which were taken as the starting-point, in showing their inferiority. Especially in America, before the war, Anthropology (or what they called by that name) was engaged in showing that the Negro, with his black skin, his prognathism, his blubber-lips and his short and

broad nose, was no real human being but a domestic animal. How to treat him was the owner's private affair; it was nobody else's business, any more than the treatment of his cattle or horses.

Even to-day there are scientists who claim a separate origin for the various human types, and who link one palæolithic race to the Gorilla and another (or perhaps the same) to the Orang. The author of *Anthropozoon biblicum* goes still further and wants us to believe that the dark races are the descendants of incestuous intercourse between "Aryans" and monkeys. But the great majority of our modern authorities now claim a monogenetic origin for mankind.

So the question of the number of human races has quite lost its *raison d'être*, and has become a subject rather of philosophical speculation than of scientific research. It is of no more importance now to know how many human races there are than to know how many angels can dance on the point of a needle. Our aim now is to find out how ancient and primitive races developed from others, and how races have changed or evolved through migration and interbreeding.

We do not yet know where the first man began to develop from earlier stages of zoological existence, and we know nothing of his anatomical qualities. The *Pithecanthropus erectus* from Java was for some time considered to be such a first man or "missing link"; but he proved to be only an enormous Gibbon. The oldest known remains of real man have been found in Western Europe. They do not show one single trait that is not found in one or other modern skull or skeleton of aboriginal Australians; even the mandible of Mauer-Heidelberg, primitive as it is, has a typical human dentition. So we shall probably not be far from the truth if we state that the palæolithic man of Europe was not essentially different from the modern Australian. If we are allowed to draw conclusions as to the soft parts from the qualities of the skeleton, our palæolithic ancestor had dark skin, dark eyes, and dark, more or less, straight hair. His home was probably in some part of Southern Asia; but we find similar types even now among the Toala of Celebes and the Veddas of Ceylon. In fact, millions of dark men in India belong to the same stock, and so do all the dark tribes of Afghanistan and Beluchistan.

So we can trace an early and primitive type of mankind from Gibraltar, Moustier, Spy, Neanderthal, Krapina, &c., to Ceylon, Celebes, and Australia. This certainly is a wide area, but every year is now bringing fresh proofs of this direct continuity of a distinct human type from the earliest palæolithic ages to modern times.

The question naturally arises how it is that our Australian brothers have remained for fifty or a hundred thousand years, or longer, in such a primitive state of mental and material culture, while we Europeans have reached the height of modern civilisation. The answer is not difficult. Australia was isolated from the rest of the world through an early geological catastrophe soon after the immigration of palæolithic man. Every impulse and incentive from without ceased, and human life began to petrify.

It was quite otherwise in Europe and in Western Asia. The thousand advantages of the environment, the broken coastlines, the many islands, the navigable rivers, and especially the constant passing from Asia to Europe and from Europe to Asia and Africa, the ready exchange of inventions and discoveries and acquisitions, the incessant trade and traffic, have made us what we are.

This primitive but uniform human type began to change chiefly in two directions. To the south-west of the line connecting Gibraltar with Australia, man, in some way or other, developed curly and woolly hair, and so became what we now call Protonigritian. We find his descendants in Melanesia and in Africa. The Pygmies form a very old branch of this protonigritic group; and we find them in South Africa (Bushmen), in many parts of Tropical Africa and of South-Eastern Asia, and even in some islands of the Pacific. We do not know where they became small, whether in their original home or later on, after their dispersion. The first theory is certainly the simpler; but the second is not without analogy. We know that the Ammonites began to unroll themselves quite independently of each other in distant oceans, but more or less in the same geological period.

On the other side of this line, in Northern Asia, primitive man acquired, during many thousands of years, straight hair and a shorter or broader skull. The modern Chinese and the typical, now nearly extinct, American Indian are at the end of this north-eastern line of development, while the typical Negro represents the south-western end.

We have thus three chief varieties of mankind—the old Indo-European, the African, and the East-Asiatic, all branching off from the same primitive stock, diverging from each other for thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of years, but all three forming a *complete unity, intermarrying in all directions without the slightest decrease of fertility.*

From these three varieties came all the different types of modern mankind, generally by local isolation. A very interesting example of such mutation is found in the earliest known inhabitants of Western Asia. This is the land of those extremely narrow and high-arched noses, we generally call Jewish or even Semitic. These

remarkable noses, however, do not belong to the Semitic invaders, of whom Abraham is the eponymic hero, but to the pre-Semitic population which might be called Hittite or Armenoid, as the modern Armenians are their direct descendants.

These old Hittites or Armenoids emigrated in very early times to Europe, where the "Alpine Race" descended from them. In the most out-of-the-way valleys of Savoy, Graubünden, Tyrol, and Carinthia more than half of the modern population has the head-form and the nose of this second immigration from Asia to Europe, and from the mingling of this short-headed "Alpine Race" with the descendants of the long-headed Palæolithic, or Neanderthal or proto-Australian Race, all the great modern European races have sprung. Only the Turks and the Magyars represent a later immigration from Northern Asia, and of the Magyars in particular we know that they settled in their present home in Hungary only a thousand years ago, and that their grammar is most intimately related to the grammar of the real Turkish languages. Perhaps the Slavonic races also were more or less influenced by later immigrations from Northern Asia.

Thus the European races can only be understood by considering Europe as a small peninsular annexe to ancient Asia, and for the understanding of the non-European races it is necessary to remember that the boundaries of water and land and glaciers have altered immensely in the course of the many hundreds of thousands of years of human existence.

While the first varieties of primitive man were certainly formed *and fixed* by long isolation, later variations and races were caused by migration and colonisation, as might perhaps best be shown by sketching the anthropology of Africa and of the Pacific Islands.

Just as Madagascar was peopled about 900 or 1000 A.D. by Indonesian colonists, coming from Sumatra, so untold ages ago the first inhabitants of Africa came from a place somewhere in Southern Asia on the great line from Gibraltar to Australia. No skulls or skeletons of these earliest Africans are as yet known, but we may hope to find them sooner or later, as we already now know a good many sites of palæolithic implements in various parts of Tropical and Southern Africa.

The anatomical qualities of these first Africans will certainly be found to differ little from those of aboriginal Australians; but in tens or hundreds of thousands of years the palæolithic African evolved into a real Negro. He exists in two varieties: a tall variety, like the modern Nigritian from the coast of Upper Guinea, and a small one, like the Bushmen and the Pygmies, now known in so many places in Central Africa. But I have already stated that we are as yet quite ignorant of the real home of these small races.

To these two oldest elements in Africa was added, ages afterwards, but still in prehistoric times, a third one, the Hamitic. It is descended from the same ancient "Gibraltar-Australia-line," but was in a higher stage of civilisation. These Hamites had already a greatly refined language, with an admirable grammar, closely related to that of the Semitic and Indo-germanic languages. In Egypt they created, more than six thousand years ago, the marvellous civilisation which we now admire as the mother of our own. Ancient Hamitic influences can be traced all through Africa; in Abyssinia, in Galla-, Somal-, and in Masailand, we find even now Hamitic languages, or at least Hamitic grammar and Hamitic types.

In Central Africa, in the region of the great lakes, we have the Hima and Tusi, generally as chiefs, reigning over Bantu tribes, often with face and figure like those of the old Pharaohs of Egypt. Even in South Africa nearly 1 per cent. of the actual Bantu population have high and narrow noses, thin lips, and fine, large, and orthognathous skulls of the Hamitic type, and all the Hottentot languages and dialects have a pure Hamitic grammar. Also the pastoral habits of many African tribes, their long-horned cattle, their spiral basket-work, &c., are Hamitic, and we can thus trace Hamitic influence from the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope.

• In the West of Africa, also, the Hausa and many other Hamitic tribes have been of the greatest importance in the progress of African civilisation and the formation of new tribes.

In later historic times Arabic, Persian, and Indian influences were at work in Eastern Africa. The periodic occurrence of Passat and Monsoon had already led to occasional visits and perhaps even to some colonisation at a very early stage of human history; the zebu, the goat, and a great many domestic plants, were brought from India to the Swahili coast, and from there to the interior of Africa; but we do not know when. We know only that Islam came from Arabia comparatively late—Islam that is now the prominent religion throughout vast regions of Africa, and will probably remain so for many centuries to come.

The Mediterranean coast of Africa also has always been open to foreign influences. The Vandals who came to Africa in 429 A.D. certainly had forerunners even in prehistoric times. The trepanning of skulls which was known in the late palæolithic cave dwellings in France, was performed on the Canary Islands, and is even now found among some tribes in Southern Algeria. The modern pottery of Adamaua shows a close relation to the pottery of the Hallstatt period and of ancient Sardinia, and some modern armlets and bronze daggers in the Western Sudan look as if they might belong

to the European Bronze Age. We do not know where the art of casting in bronze (the *cire perdue* process of the French, the casting with *cera perduta* of the Italians) had its real origin; probably it came from Egypt or from Babylonia. We are also ignorant of the way it took in coming from there to Europe and to the Western Sudan, but we see from the prehistoric character of many African bronze daggers, armlets, &c., that the art of casting must have come to Adamaua not later than the sixth century B.C.

Six centuries before the historic invasion of the Vandals, Hannibal sent his soldiers from Africa to Europe and from Europe to Africa, and we know that in the early Middle Ages African Mohammedans reigned in Spain for more than five hundred years.

Thus there was a constant coming and going between North Africa and Western Europe, and we cannot be astonished to find so many blue eyes among the Berbers of Morocco, and even among the Ful and other tribes in the Sudan.

In fact, the natives of Africa, who were considered not long ago to be a homogeneous mass, now turn out to be in reality a most complicated mixture of quite different elements, the outcome of immigration at different periods and from different parts of the globe.

Not much less complicated is the anthropological structure of Oceania. Here we have real pygmies, and the Melanesians, who are very similar to the African negroes with dark curly and often spiral hair, dark skin, long skull, prognathous face, broad nose, and thick lips. They are found nearly pure on the Fiji Islands and in some parts of New Caledonia and in the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides. In other parts of the Western Pacific they are more or less mixed with the old pygmy races and form what are now generally called the Papuan elements of Oceania. The greatest possible contrast to these Melanesians and Papuans is found in the Polynesian type, which is found in its purest form in Tonga and Samoa, but partly also in the Eastern Group of Polynesia. The real and pure typical Polynesian has a skin not much darker than that of many Sicilians or Spaniards; his hair is dark and straight, the skull is extremely short, but very broad and high; the face is orthognathous, the nose narrow, the lips sometimes very thin, never as thick as those of the Melanesians. Many Polynesians might easily be taken for full-blooded Europeans; others, especially some of the females, resemble types from Indonesia or from Siam and Cambodja, except that they are, as a rule, much taller than any tribes of South-Eastern Asia. On the whole it is evident, without any recourse to linguistics and ethnography, merely by studying their physique that the Polynesians came from Asia and that they came by way of

Indonesia. This is also shown by their cosmogonical system and their eschatology.

These two races, the Melanesians and Polynesians, different from each other as they are, have intermarried on many groups of the Pacific Islands for at least many centuries. On some islands, *e.g.*, in New Zealand, a sort of real mixture of types has taken place, on others the two types have remained quite distinct, so that, in accordance with Mendel's law, always a certain proportion of the people belong to the *one*, and another proportion to the *other* type, and only one-half (or less) of the inhabitants have the qualities of both types mixed. .

Wherever we try to investigate in this way the natural history of man, we always find inter-connection and migration, often over more than half the circumference of our globe. We can trace Turk languages from the Mediterranean all through Asia to the vicinity of Kamtschatka, and Malayan languages are spoken eastwards as far as Rapanui or Easter Island, the ultima Thule of the Pacific; westward we find the Hova of Madagascar, descendants of old Indonesian colonists who probably came from Sumatra about a thousand years ago, still preserving their type, their Indonesian language, and their old material culture. Hamitic grammar and Hamitic type can be traced right through Africa.

The religions of Buddha and of Christ have each conquered more than 500 millions of men, and Islam spreads from Arabia as far as the West Coast of Africa, and eastward all through Asia, as far as the Indonesian Archipelago. We find carvings in New Ireland that can be traced back to the famous Greek marble representing the rape of Ganymede, and we know that the religious style of Buddhist art goes back to ancient Greece, just as the Japanese No-masks are the direct descendants of the masks in ancient Greek and Roman plays.

In the same way our own domestic animals and plants, our corn and grains, can be traced round the globe, and in a few centuries American plants have spread so universally in Africa, that to the non-botanist they seem to be indigenous in the Dark Continent.

In former times ethnologists used to admire the apparent unity in the direction of the human mind, and to wonder how it was that in all parts of the earth men had similar ideas and ways. Now this "Völkergedanken" theory is nearly abandoned, and we are forced to admit the real unity of mankind. Fair and dark races, long and short-headed, intelligent and primitive, all come from one stock. Favourable circumstances and surroundings, especially a good environment, a favourable geographical position, trade and traffic, caused one group to advance more quickly than another, while some groups have remained in a very primitive state of development; but all are adapted

to their surroundings, according to the law of the survival of the fittest.

One type may be more refined, another type may be coarser; but if both are thoroughbred, or what we call "good types," however they may differ, one is not necessarily inferior to the other. In this sense I could once say in one of my University lectures that the only "savages" in Africa are certain white men with "Tropenkoller." I am afraid I owe perhaps to this paradox the honour of being invited to take part in this Congress, and I feel it therefore my duty to declare most formally that I still adhere to my word, and that I am still seriously convinced that certain white men may be on a lower intellectual and moral level than certain coloured Africans. But this is a mere theoretical statement and of little practical value, except for the Colonial Service. In the Colonies, naturally, a white man with a low moral standard will always be a serious danger, not only for the natives, but also for his own nation.

But much greater is the danger to civilised nations by the immigration of coarser or less refined elements. The United States provide a most instructive example of such a danger on account of their twelve millions of coloured people, and we can understand the feeling of racial antagonism that is now directed against immigration from Asia and the immigration of less desirable elements from Eastern Europe. Even in Germany the constant migration of Eastern Slavs into the Western Provinces is regarded as regrettable by people who are not suspected of narrow-mindedness.

It certainly cannot be a matter of indifference to a nation, if great numbers of strangers come into their towns, take lower wages, live on a very low standard of life, and send home the greater part of their income. But far more serious is the question of racial mixture, and I feel sure that this First Universal Races Congress will do a good work, and one that will not be forgotten for centuries to come, if it insists on the necessity of studying this problem on a broad basis.

We all know that a certain admixture of blood has always been of great advantage to a nation. England, France, and Germany are equally distinguished for the great variety of their racial elements. In the case of Italy we know that in ancient times and at the Renaissance Northern "Barbarians" were the leaven in the great advance of art and civilisation; and even Slavonic immigration has certainly not been without effect on this movement. The marvellous ancient civilisation of Crete, again, seems to have been not quite autochthonous. We know also that the ancient Babylonian civilisation sprang from a mixture of two quite different national and racial elements, and we find a nearly homogeneous population in most parts of Russia, and in

the interior of China associated with a somewhat low stage of evolution.

On the other hand, we are all more or less disposed to dislike and despise a mixture of Europeans with the greater part of foreign races. "God created the white man and God created the black man, but the devil created the mulatto," is a very well-known proverb. As a matter of fact, we are absolutely ignorant as to the moral and intellectual qualities of half-castes. It would be absurd to expect from the union of a good-for-nothing European with an equally good-for-nothing black woman, children that march on the heights of humanity, and we know of many half-castes that are absolutely *sans reproche*; but we have no good statistics of the qualities of half-castes in comparison with those of their parents.

Meanwhile it may be permitted to anthropology to wish a separate evolution of the "so-called white and the so-called coloured peoples." As yet we know very little about the interesting and complicated psychology of most of the coloured races, and I am seriously convinced that better knowledge will be followed by more and more mutual sympathy; but *racial barriers will never cease to exist*, and if ever they should show a tendency to disappear, it will certainly be better to preserve than to obliterate them.

The brotherhood of man is a good thing, but the struggle for life is a far better one. Athens would never have become what it was, without Sparta, and national jealousies and differences, and even the most cruel wars, have ever been the real causes of progress and mental freedom.

As long as man is not born with wings, like the angels, he will remain subject to the eternal laws of Nature, and therefore he will always have to struggle for life and existence. No Hague Conferences, no International Tribunals, no international papers and peace societies, and no Esperanto or other international language, will ever be able to abolish war.

• The respect due by the white races to other races and by the white races to each other can never be too great, but natural law will never allow racial barriers to fall, and even national boundaries will never cease to exist.

Nations will come and go, but racial and national antagonism will remain; and this is well, for mankind would become like a herd of sheep, if we were to lose our national ambition and cease to look with pride and delight, not only on our industries and science, but also on our splendid soldiers and our glorious ironclads. Let small-minded people whine about the horrid cost of Dreadnoughts; as long as every nation in Europe spends, year after year, much more money on wine, beer, and brandy than on her army and navy, there is no reason to dread our impoverishment by militarism.

Si vis pacem, para bellum; and in reality there is no doubt that we shall be the better able to avoid war, the better we care for our armour. A nation is free only in so far as her own internal affairs are concerned. She has to respect the right of other nations as well as to defend her own, and her vital interests she will, if necessary, defend with blood and iron.¹

[Paper submitted in English.]

RACE FROM THE SOCIOLOGICAL STANDPOINT

By ALFRED FOUILLÉE, *Paris*,
Member of the Institut de France.

I. IN discussions of the race problem there is one factor of supreme importance which has been so far disregarded—to wit, the opinion or *idea* which a race has of itself and the influence exerted by this idea. It is a view I have long been contending for, namely, that every idea is the conscious form in which feelings and impulses are cast. Thus every idea contains within it not merely an intellectual act, but also a certain orientation of sensibility and of will. Consequently every idea is a force which tends to realise its own object, more and more fully. This is true of the idea of race, just as it is true of the idea of nation. Hence we have (1) a certain self-consciousness in a race, imparting to each of its members a kind of racial personality; (2) a tendency to affirm this personality more and more strongly, to oppose it to other racial types and secure its predominance. In other words, the race-idea includes within it a race-consciousness. It is certain, for instance, that a white man shares the idea and the will of his race—a result the more inevitable inasmuch as he has but to open his eyes in order to distinguish white from yellow or black. Frenchmen or Russians may not be able to recognise one another at sight, but there can be no confusing blacks and whites. Colour is a visible and immediate bond between men of white, black, or yellow race. Even among white men certain types lend themselves to easy recognition and the setting up of a tie between men who share certain typical features. Take, for instance, the dark dolichocephalic Arab type, or the dark brachycephalic Turkish, and compare either with the fair dolichocephalic English type.

If an ethnic consciousness gives a race greater solidarity and

¹ To prevent the last few paragraphs from being misinterpreted, Professor v. Luschan authorises us to state that he regards the desire for a war between Germany and England as "insane or dastardly."—EDITOR.

inward unity, it has, on the other hand, the disadvantage of culminating nearly always in an assumption of *superiority* and, for that very reason, in a feeling of natural *hostility*. The yellow man thinks himself no less superior to the white than the white man believes himself superior to the yellow. At all events, he believes himself to be very different, and from the conviction of difference to that of enmity there is only a step.

Differences of language and custom—and, above all, of religion—serve to intensify the hostility. All religion is sociological in character, and expresses symbolically the conditions native to the life or progress of a given society. The religion of a race converts it into a huge society animated by the same beliefs and the same aspirations. Moreover, all religion is intolerant, and hostile to other religions. It believes itself to be the truth, and thus seeks to universalise that which is only the particular spirit of one race or one nation—*e.g.*, the Jewish spirit, the Christian spirit, the Mahommedan spirit. When, then, the ethnic consciousness becomes at the same time a religious consciousness, the assertion of the individuality of a race implies a counter-assertion to the individuality of other races. It is hidden warfare, passing over at the very first opportunity into open warfare.

II. How, then, are we to war against the force of hatred and division which is inherent in the idea of race when wedded to the idea of religion? We must fight it by the force of other ideas which contain a different set of feelings and tendencies. These "idées-forces," or motor ideas, are of two kinds: scientific ideas and moral ideas. Just as ethnic and religious ideas are dividing factors, so scientific ideas are conciliatory in tendency. Science recognises no colour line: it is neither white, yellow, nor black, neither Christian nor Mahommedan. When a man of science demonstrates the equality of two triangles, he makes the sides of these triangles coincide; and no less surely do his geometrical conclusions coincide with that of all other geometricians, be they white, yellow, or black.

Over and above the consciousness of race, nationality, or religion, scientific ideas develop a *human* and *social*, not to say *human* and *cosmic* consciousness. Science, then, is the great reconciler, the fruitful germ of universal peace, realising in the world of intelligence the maxim "All in one." By the force that belongs to ideas union tends to pass from the intellect into the heart. Men of science, be their colour white or yellow, hail one another as brothers.

Industrial technique, being the application of science, shares the universal character of science. A railroad, whether Chinese or English, is always a railroad. A telegraph line, Russian or Japanese, is always a telegraph-line. A telephone, whether Turkish or Aus-

trian, is always a telephone. Every industrial invention is a manifestation of science, truth leaping into obviousness in all its luminous impersonality, and, like the sun, shining equally upon black and white.

Hand in hand with science and industry goes *commerce*, another bond between races. Commerce requires a constant increase in the number and speed of the methods of communication, and these bring nations together; and commerce requires, moreover, codes of morality and law which tend to the establishment of moral and legal similarities between one race and another—similarities the importance of which is becoming daily more manifest.

Another great link between races and nations, and one which is destined in the future to play a still more important part, is to be found in philosophical ideas. Even in the Middle Ages such ideas were the bond that united Christians, Jews, and Mussulmen. St. Thomas, Averroes, Avicenna, Maimonides paid common homage to Plato and Aristotle. To-day there are many points on which a disciple of Confucius or of Mencius will have small difficulty in coming to an understanding with a disciple of Kant or of Schopenhauer. Philosophical ideas, even when they seem to divide men by the apparent multiplicity of their systems, yet really unite them in one and the same love of truth, one and the same disinterested inquiry into the heart of things, into the meaning of the ultimate laws of nature and of life. Among all true philosophers the critical spirit and the speculative interest are the same. While all religions are guilty of the two great capital crimes—pride and hatred—the philosopher knows that he knows little or nothing. He delights in contradiction, inasmuch as it reveals to him another aspect of truth which differs from his own. His opponents seem to him at bottom his best friends. He has no inclination whatsoever to kill or burn them. His universal tolerance is not born of a condescending indulgence for those who differ from him, but of respect for freedom of conscience and of gratitude for efforts which are complementary to his own and for the fresh light which comes to the aid of his own imperfect vision. Nor must it be thought that philosophical ideas, with the new perspective which they open out upon life and the world, are doomed to remain the exclusive possession of a small and select company. Little by little they mingle with the intellectual atmosphere which is the property of us all. The thoughts of men such as Descartes, Voltaire, Rousseau, or Kant float, so to speak, in the very air we breathe. Many humble people who have never even heard these names are unconsciously affected by those philosophical influences which have helped to mould our modern civilisation. Thanks to the world's thinkers, there is something new under the

sun ; something new, too, in our human consciousness. Nothing is lost ; all is fruitful and multiplies ; ideas which to all appearance are most abstract end by taking form and dwelling among men. Here we have the true mystery of incarnation.

III. Are we, then, to trust solely to the spontaneous propagation of science, industry, and commerce, and even of art, which is becoming more and more cosmopolitan, and of social morality and law, which are constantly bringing greater uniformity into systems of contract and exchange and international relations generally ? Or are we to add unto these things religious propaganda ? I think not. The question is so important for ethnic sociology that it deserves closer attention. I have already said, and it cannot be repeated too often, that nothing divides men more than religious dogmas, each of which excludes absolutely the contrary dogma : *sint ut sunt, aut non sint*. Our missionaries are psychologists and sociologists who feed themselves on generous illusions. They think that they are going to convert Mahomedans or Buddhists to the beauties of Christianity. They only succeed in making a few isolated converts who are ashamed of their former co-religionists. Too often the missionaries make Christianity hated rather than loved. Moreover, what message have they for those whom they wish to enlighten ? Will not Jehovah seem to a disciple of Confucius just as vindictive as Baal or Moloch ? Will even Jesus Himself seem to a Buddhist altogether an embodiment of gentleness when He threatens those who do not share His beliefs with being conserved in fire to all eternity ? Take the story of Adam eating the apple, and thus compelling God to make His Son perish on the cross in order to appease His own wrath. Is it likely that this, from a moral and social point of view, will seem superior to the story of Buddha offering himself to be torn by lions and tigers ? How should the sacrament of the eucharist, which culminates in representing God as consumed in flesh and blood, convert a poor savage for whom a god who allows himself to be eaten will never be a god ? The symbolic and philosophic meaning that may be given to such dogmas (though, for the matter of that, most believers take them literally) escapes and will always continue to escape those whom it is desired to convert. They take hold of the dogma only by its absurd, inhuman, anti-social side, and they do not see why they should betray their race by renouncing its gods for those of a race that is foreign and often hostile.

It is idle, then, to count on religion for bridging over the gulf of race. On the contrary, the different religious beliefs of each race must be respected. If a race wishes to believe in Brahma, Vishnu, and Çiva instead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it must be allowed to believe in Brahma, Vishnu, and Çiva. Religions, through

the whole course of history, have too often set nations at variance. If they have produced friendship and union, they have likewise produced discord, hate, and war. There is not a religion which has not, like Lady Macbeth, stains on the hand that all the vast oceans could never wash away.

Moreover, for the sociologist as for the philosopher, there is a violation of right and of the freedom of conscience—there is an actual injustice—in the indiscreet intrusions of preaching missionaries who seek to substitute a foreign for a national fanaticism.

It is an established conclusion of sociology that every religion, however universal it claims to be, has always an *ethnic* and *national* basis corresponding to the needs and traditions of a race or nation. It is thus illogical to try and transplant it, either forcibly or through appeal to the imagination, and set it up among nations who already have a religion adapted to their race and nationality. Religion is not an "article of export." Once again, the only universal, the only really "catholic" things, in the Greek sense of the word, are science, philosophy, and morals. It is these things which we must peaceably introduce among races the most distant from our own. It is not the Christian religion which has transformed and will continue to transform Japan. It is science and industry. Men of science are to-day the true and only missionaries. The inventors of railroads and telegraphs have done more to link different races together than all the Francis Xaviers and Ignatius Loyolas. Each new truth discovered is one light more in the firmament that all men gaze at—a light, too, which all, save the blind, can see. It becomes the common heritage of all the races. It fosters in mankind, as we have seen, a common consciousness, a consciousness of man as man.

It is just the same in the realm of pure moral ideas, which are based on the nature of men and things and give expression to the universal conditions of life and progress in society—in other words, of *social statics* and *social dynamics*. Try to draw from every religion and every race its whole moral and really social content, and then accept this without troubling about dogmas and particular symbols. In universal religious tolerance, combined with universal morality and science, we have the one great means of establishing mutual racial sympathy. If, notwithstanding, morality itself should vary from one race to another, let us be tolerant of such variations. They will gradually wear away under the influence of mutual friction and of a progressing civilisation which is becoming daily more uniform. Allow the Mahommedans to wed several wives openly and do not yourself wed several secretly. There must be a tolerance in morality no less than in religion and philosophy. Provided that there is no actual attack on other peoples' rights, you should shut your eyes to

customs which are not those of your race or country. Wait till science and civilisation have gradually reformed them.

In short, new forces are gaining ground, forces that are working in favour of peace. International life—a product of science, industry, and economic relations—is hardly yet born ; yet it is daily becoming a more and more comprehensive reality, including within its sphere items whose number and importance are steadily increasing. Nor is this common life merely international. Might one not say that it is also inter-ethnic, in the sense of embracing the most diverse races, not only in Europe, but also in America, Asia, and Africa? Over the whole globe we are witnessing the spread and propagation of ideas that are also forces—motor ideas which are everywhere identical and are drawing very different minds in the same directions.

For the sociologist, there is but one practical means of bringing races together, and that is to diffuse scientific, moral, and social instruction as widely as possible. Instruction of this kind, spread gradually among the different nations, is the one great means of ensuring peace.

As we have shown in our *Psychological Sketch of European Nations*, it is a historical law that the progress of modern civilisation is marked by a continually growing ascendancy of scientific, social, and therefore intellectual or moral factors, over such as are racial, geographical, and climatic. The advance of science and of industrial invention is transforming, with ever-growing swiftness, the conditions of social life and labour and also the mutual relations of the various classes. No nation can flatter itself with the belief that its pre-eminence will last for ever. None, on the other hand, can be condemned to an incurable decline. Thanks to a universal solidarity, each race profits by the discoveries and experiences of the others. This law of solidarity in social environment is daily asserting itself more strongly against the conditions which favour a native originality due to racial temperament and physical environment.¹ As I have already stated elsewhere, it is neither to Anglo-Saxons nor Germans that the future belongs, neither to Greeks nor Latins, neither to Christians nor Buddhists ; but rather to those most qualified by their knowledge, industry, and morality.

[Paper submitted in French.]

THE PROBLEM OF RACE EQUALITY

By G. SPILLER, *Hon. Organiser of the Congress.*

“Backward” does not necessarily mean “inferior.”—RATZEL.

IT is generally conceded that we should be considerate to all races of men regardless of their capacities ; but there is equal agreement, and

¹ *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens.*—Conclusions.

rightly so, that we should be considerate to domesticated animals, for instance. Here, then, is our dilemma, for the most considerate of men, if he is sane, will not treat his horse exactly as he treats his compatriot, *e.g.*, he will not expect both of them to converse, to reflect, to fashion and obey the laws. Accordingly, considerate actions have to be adapted to the nature of the being we have dealings with, and if some races of men should prove to be very decidedly inferior to other races in inherited capacity, it is evident that they would have to be treated apart to a very considerable degree, being excluded, perhaps, from all important functions in the community. This, of course, would not preclude our loving them tenderly and doing everything which conduced to their welfare.

Now, since it is hotly contended that "the Negro is not a human being at all, but merely a different form of ox or ass, and is, therefore, only entitled to such kindness as a merciful man shows to all his cattle," and since this is as warmly contested by the Negroes and other races concerned, it becomes a vital matter to grapple with the problem of race equality. Especially is this important because many races are actually being treated, or even mal-treated, as inferiors, without any strong presumption in favour of the alleged race-inferiority. If to this be added the all-too-ready tendency to regard other races than our own as "inferior races," and to force these into becoming our hewers of wood and drawers of water, it is manifest that there is urgent need for some light to be thrown on the subject.

Moreover, if the brotherhood of man is to become a reality, as poets and prophets have fondly dreamed, and if the great nations of the world, irrespective of race, are to create a World Tribunal and a World Parliament, it is indispensable that the leading varieties of mankind shall be proved substantially equals. A parliament composed of human beings very widely differing in capacity is a palpable absurdity, only realisable in *Alice in Wonderland*. Firmin, seeing the bearing of this, wisely remarks, "Les races, se reconnaissant égales, pourront se respecter et s'aimer" (*De l'Egalité des Races Humaines*, 1885, p. 659).

However, we need not include in our problem every tribe and race whatsoever, but only the vast aggregate of mankind, say, China, Japan, Turkey, Persia, India, Egypt, Siam, the Negro, the American Indian, the Philippino, the Malay, the Maori, and the fair-white and dark-white races. These constitute, perhaps, nine-tenths of the human race. If an insignificant people here and there, say the Veddahs or the Andamanese, the Hottentots or the Dyaks, should be shown to be unquestionably inferior, this would constitute no grave inter-racial problem. The rare exception would prove the rule, and the broad rule would make the reality of the rare exception doubtful.

A century ago the issue we are discussing might have been very difficult of approach. Our knowledge of other races was then a negligible quantity, and of most of the important races we had no compelling evidence of higher aptitudes. This is altered now. We know almost intimately the various great peoples, and fortunately there exists to-day a common standard by which we can measure them at least in one respect. This standard is supplied by the University. As a mere matter of theory it is conceivable that not one non-Caucasian should be capable of graduating at a University, and it is even possible to conceive that a number of peoples should not be able to force their way through the elementary school. The data, however, favour no such conclusion, for individuals of all the select races which we have mentioned above have graduated in modern universities and in diverse subjects.* To appreciate this statement, especially in the light of disparaging remarks to the effect that the facial angle of certain races more nearly approaches that of apes than that of Caucasians, we must remember that not a solitary ape has yet been known to have reached the stage of being able to pass the entrance examination to an infant school or kindergarten. We must agree with Ratzel, who says, "There is only one species of man; the variations are numerous, but do not go deep."

An objector might argue that the academic member of an inferior race is a shining exception, a freak of nature, and that from his feat nothing can be deduced regarding the average capacity of his race. This theoretical objection can be disposed of in various ways. We might meet it with the irresistible contention that no member of any species departs far from the average, for else a lioness could give birth to a tiger. Or we might, what is more satisfactory, test the objection by the data to hand. For example, of the ten million Negroes in the United States, many are said to be lawyers as well as surgeons and physicians, several thousand have graduated in Universities,² hundreds of thousands ply trades or have acquired property, and a few, such as Dr. Booker Washington and Professor DuBois, are recognised as men of distinction.³ Nor is even this a

* Certain inquiries at European universities where Asiatic and African students are to be found, tend to show that there is no good reason for thinking that they possess less ability than European students.

² See Prof. W. G. B. DuBois's searching volume, *The College-bred Negro*.

³ M. Firmin, a Haitian, a full-blooded Negro, I am informed, has written a highly learned and remarkably judicious and elegant work on the Equality of the Human Races. Another Haitian, of humble and pure descent, but who later became President of the Republic of Haiti, General Légitime, has composed a luminous and comprehensive introduction to philosophy. A West Indian of immaculate Negro descent, Dr. Th. Scholes, has issued two excellent treatises on the races question. The Hon. John Mensa Sarbah, a West African, has written with conspicuous ability on the Fanti National Constitution. Many other works of equal worth, composed by Negroes, exist.

fair statement of the case. The Negro population of the United States is despised if not downtrodden, largely deprived of elementary education, and lacking, therefore, generally wealth and the corresponding opportunities for culture. Manifestly, if we assumed that the Negro race ceased to be thus severely handicapped, the possible number of university graduates among them would materially increase.¹ There remains alone the academic argument that under equal conditions the white race might show a greater proportion of professors or graduates, but the figures are wanting to decide this. Suffice it that we cannot speak of exceptions where thousands of graduates are involved.

A final objection might be raised relating to the absence of great men among the Negroes of the United States. They have produced no Shakespeare, no Beethoven, no Plato. Which is perfectly true ; but neither have the teeming millions of the white race of America produced one such towering giant through the centuries. Moreover, the time of the recognition of great men appears to be from about the age of fifty onwards, and altogether only a little over forty years have passed since slavery was abolished in the United States.

Needless to say, what is stated in the preceding paragraphs regarding the capacities of the Negro race—which, according to Sir Harry Johnston, embraces some 150,000,000 souls—holds with increased force of the great Oriental peoples, who can point to complex civilisations and to illustrious sons and daughters.²

We must now examine the contention that man is more than intellect, and that while the various races may be possibly equal on the whole as regards *intelligence*, they differ much in *enterprise*, *morals*, and *beauty*.

Enterprise is a vague term to define. So far as the qualities of the warrior are in question, these appear to be universal. The Greeks, the Romans, and the Carthaginians were certainly bold and daring. The Egyptians, the Persians, and the Hebrews fought intrepidly. The Middle Ages found Christians, Turks, and Huns, accomplished in the fine art of massacre. Gustav Adolf of Sweden, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Wellington, splendidly led superb armies. Japan recently showed the world what matchless fighting stuff is to be found in the Far East. And so-called savage tribes—north, south, east, and west—appear to be no whit behind in the matter of dauntless bravery.

¹ It might be said that many of the so-called Negro graduates are not full blacks. Since, however, very many of them are, the argument remains unaffected. It should also be noted that "coloured" people are treated precisely as if they were full-blooded.

² "I consider that your propositions could be abundantly supported by instances taken from India," writes a Civil Servant who occupied for many years a responsible post in India.

War, however, is supposed to offer a powerful stimulus, and it is argued that where the stimulus is gentle, it finds some races responding and not others. Inveterate idleness is thus stated to distinguish most non-European races. The Hon. James S. Sherman, Vice-President of the United States, well grasps this nettle. "The Indian," he says, "is naturally indolent, naturally slothful, naturally untidy; he works because he has to work, and *primarily he does not differ altogether from the white man in that respect.* Mr. Valentin, this morning, very vividly pictured what the Indians were. He said, as you remember, that some drink, some work, and some did not, some saved their money, some provided for their families, and some went to jail. Still *I would like to know what single white community in this whole land of ours that description does not cover?*" (Report of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, October 20-22, 1909, pp. 80-81. Italics are ours.) Vice-President Sherman gives here the happy despatch to a very common fallacy. Man requires an appropriate stimulus to spur him to action—whether it be that of the warrior, the hunter, the shepherd, the peasant, the tradesman, or the scholar, and West and East are at one in this respect. The inhabitants of China and Japan are world-famed for their industriousness, and the populations of Turkey, Persia, and India are also busy bees in the mass. Similarly the Negro and the American Indian in the United States are falling into the habit of what is called work in the West, and primitive peoples generally are as active as the circumstances demand.

Fearlessness and industry may not form dividing lines between the races; but what of such attributes as initiative, inventiveness, progress? Historians inform us that in Dante's time the Western methods of agriculture were still those of the ancient Romans, and they further show us that the red-haired Teutons about the beginning of our era, while possessing themselves a civilisation of a most rudimentary character, exhibited no desire to emulate the dark-white civilised Romans with whom they came into contact. Should we, then, be justified in concluding from such facts that the European races in general and the Teutonic race in particular are unprogressive races? Or does this not suggest that complex social conditions determine whether a race shall be pushful, empire-building, inventive, progressive? So far as modern warfare is concerned, Japan ranges now admittedly with the great Western Powers, and in industry and in science this Eastern nation is also taking its place in the front rank. Yesterday, as it were, despotic rule was supposed to hall-mark the East, to-day representative government is clamoured for in the few Oriental countries where it does not exist already. This, too,

merely repeats the story of Europe's recent emergence from an autocratic *régime*. Taking further into consideration the imposing ancient civilisations of Egypt and Babylon, Persia and Phœnicia, and more especially the magnificent civilisation of China which is responsible for innumerable inventions and discoveries of the highest order, and bearing in mind that every country in the East is at present remodelling its civilisation on Western lines, it is reasonable to suggest that, so far as the spirit of enterprise is concerned, the various races of mankind may be said to be, broadly speaking, on an equality.

We must now examine another momentous factor, *the moral factor*. A few decades ago, due partly to unavoidable ignorance and partly to racial and religious prejudice, it was thought that morality was a monopoly of the West. Bret Harte's Ah-Sin was the typical Chinese; cruelty and prevarication were alleged to be the special prerogative of the Mohammedan; the less developed types of men were head-hunters, cannibals and shameless; and self-respect and respect for others were iridescent virtues only to be encountered in Central Europe and the United States. Now, however, that we possess the beautiful Sacred Books of the East in translation, this view has lost almost every vestige of justification, for much in the Chinese, Hindu, Persian, Hebrew, and even Egyptian and Babylonian classics is of the profoundest ethical significance.

Coming to *moral practice*, travellers of unimpeachable repute have taught us that love of family and country, devotion to friends, succour of those in distress, are not virtues characteristic of any one particular race. Concerning the Chinese the distinguished English missionary and scholar, Dr. Legge, says in a Present-Day Tract, "Take the Chinese people as a whole . . . and there is much about them to like and even to admire. They are cheerful, temperate, industrious, and kindly, and in these respects they will bear a comparison, perhaps a favourable comparison, with the masses of our own population. . . . I found those of them who had any position in society for the most part faithful to their engagements and true to their word. I thought of them better, both morally and socially, when I left them, than when I first went among them, more than thirty years before." And such passages abound in modern works, not only in regard to the doyen of the nations, but in regard to most non-European peoples.¹

Lastly, that there is little to choose in regard to *physique*, a glance

¹ "Among the cleanest—physically and morally—men that I have known have been some of African descent" (Prof. B. G. Wilder, *The Brain of the American Negro*, 1909). See also the chapter on the truthfulness of the Hindus in Max Müller's *What Can India Teach Us?*

at any good modern collection of fair-sized ethnographical photographs will show. It was the old drawings, little more than naive caricatures, and later the photographs of hideous exceptions, which supplied us with those types of other races that suggest startling race distinctions. Michelet and others have dwelt on the beauty of Haitians, and Firmin, with apparent good reason, thinks that the classic type of beauty is closely bound up with a high state of civilisation, a remark which Schneider (*Die Naturvölker*, 1885) endorses. Privation and affluence, refinement and degradation, leave their traces on uncivilised and civilised alike.

We are, then, under the necessity of concluding that *an impartial investigator would be inclined to look upon the various important peoples of the world as, to all intents and purposes, essentially equals in intellect, enterprise, morality, and physique.*

Race prejudice forms a species belonging to a flourishing genus. Prejudices innumerable exist based on callousness, ignorance, misunderstanding, economic rivalry, and, above all, on the fact that our customs are dear to us, but appear ridiculous and perverse to all who do not sympathetically study them. Nation looks down on nation, class on class, religion on religion, sex on sex, and race on race. It is a melancholy spectacle which imaginative insight into the lives and conditions of others should remove.

Considering that the number of race characteristics is legion, it would be embarrassing to assert that they possess a deeper meaning. Every small tribe seems to be the happy possessor of a little army of special characteristics, and one ethnologist actually speaks of five hundred tribes to be found in a radius of as many miles in a certain locality. The American Indians are said to be related to the Tartars, whilst possessing very distinct common traits; and each of the at present recognised great racial divisions is equally capable of subdivision, and equally merges by degrees into the others. Again, we hear of red-haired, yellow-haired, fair-haired, brown-haired, and black-haired peoples, and we read of frizzly hair, woolly hair, silken hair, as well as of a few tufts of hair on the head in some tribes, and trains of hair trailing on the ground in others. Peoples differ in average height from less than four feet to over six feet. Some of these have very small and others very large eyes, and length of limbs varies considerably. The bodies of some few tribes are richly covered with hair, while others are practically devoid of it. The variations in colour of skin, from pink to yellow, reddish-brown and black-brown, are very conspicuous, and the so-called Caucasian type alone embraces the fair Scandinavian, the dusky Italian, the dark Hindu, and the almost black Fellaḥ. Noses, lips, chins, cheek-bones, jaws, vary prodigiously, and no less facial angle, forehead, and shape of skull.

Accordingly the observable physical differences between so-called distinct races must be regarded as incidental on pain of having to assume hundreds of separate origins for the human race. Ratzel truly says: "It may be safely asserted that the study of comparative ethnology in recent years has tended to diminish the weight of the traditionally accepted views of anthropologists as to racial distinctions, and that in any case they afford no support to the view which sees in the so-called lower races of mankind a transition stage from beast to man."¹

We commonly judge races nearly as much by their customs as by their physical appearance, almost as if the former fatally depended on the latter. Indeed, anthropologists and travellers often unquestioningly and unsuspectingly assume that the mental traits of races are innate and fixed, like the tendency to anger or to walking uprightly. Yet a Zulu, for instance, taken from his tribe where he appears to possess innumerable rooted and peculiar customs, very soon loses them nearly all. The American Negro missionaries in Africa find that custom is deeper than physical appearance, since their fellow Negroes in Africa look upon them as Americans rather than as men of their own kith and kin. As one of the Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Congress, the first delegate to the Second Hague Conference of one of the greatest Eastern Empires, convincingly expresses this in a letter to the Congress Executive: "Races show nothing but skin-deep differences. Differences of language, of religion, of manners and customs, are nothing but accidental modalities attendant on the respective historical evolution in the past—in no way sufficiently powerful to efface the sub-stratum common to all humanity, and in no way tending to hinder any co-operative effort in the fulfilment of the mission common to mankind in general."

Is it, then, to be inferred, we may be asked in astonishment, that we should encourage indiscriminate miscegenation, free intermarriage between white, black, and yellow races? The inference need not be drawn, since we may say that, just as in parts of Europe, for instance, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews live together amicably while yet intermarrying very rarely, so the equality of the human races might be universally acknowledged and yet intermarriage not take place. However, we ought to note that in the West the fairest whites freely intermarry with the darkest whites, and that it is difficult to see why—theoretically at least—any limit should be drawn.

What has been said above regarding the ephemeral importance

¹ A comprehensive criticism of works that lay stress on the inequality of races is to be found in Jean Finot's *Race Prejudice* and in Friedrich Hertz's *Moderne Rassen-theorien*.

of racial distinctions embraces, so it appears to the present writer, the bedrock truth which must be ever borne in mind in this controversy. The trunk of the elephant, the neck of the giraffe, are something singular in the animal kingdom. Man, too, possesses a unique quality which likewise sharply divides him from sentient beings generally. All other animals are almost altogether guided by individual or gregarious instincts, and their wisdom, natural and acquired, almost completely dies with them. The bee's hive and the ant's nest represent wonderful structures; but these structures, wherever we meet them, are so strikingly alike that it is evident natural selection and not reason or tradition accounts for them. Only man as a race has a history—a history of speech and writing, a history of architecture and dress, a history of laws, and one of arts and crafts. The individual thought of thousands of brains has, to give a trivial instance, created the safety bicycle, and the collective thought of millions through the ages has built up our complex civilisation. And this thought is transmitted *socially*—through home and school education, through public institutions, or through the imposing accumulations of science, art, and industry. Except for such social transmission the work of the past would have to be commenced, Sisyphus-like, all over again by each generation, and the stage of savagery and barbarism would be unending.

Man's social nature distinguishes him from his fellow animals *absolutely* in that no animal species, however gregarious, is in possession of traditional knowledge collected throughout the length and breadth of thousands of years, and *fundamentally* in that any attempt to turn an animal into a social being is doomed to fail miserably. To illustrate, the domesticated animals may readily be isolated at birth from their kind with no appreciable consequences to their development, while, on the other hand, a human being thus placed would probably grow up more brutish than a brute. Man's upright attitude, his comparative hairlessness, the place of his thumbs, the size and weight of his brain, are undoubtedly radical differentiae in relation to other animals; but these in themselves do not constitute him the premier species of the globe. The most hopelessly benighted pigmy in the forests of Central Africa possesses these characteristics nearly in perfection. The social and historical element makes man the civilised being, and it alone accounts for the successive ages of stone, bronze, iron, steam, and electricity.

A theory such as is here propounded ought to remove innumerable preconceptions from thinking minds. It is a theory which in a very real sense makes all men kin. It discourages inconsiderate pride of race, of sex, of birth, of nation, of class, and of religion. It encourages education, co-operation, science, strenuousness com-

bined with modesty, and equal rights and opportunities for all men and women. It puts at its true value the eminently plausible but almost certainly unscientific doctrine that mankind can solely or mainly be improved in the only manner that animals can—*i.e.*, by careful selection or breeding. Above all, it paves the way for national and international concord and co-operation, and for a fair treatment of backward races, subject peoples, and small nations.

In conclusion, the writer of this paper cannot refrain from expressing a fervent hope that the deliberations of this historic Congress may result in a better understanding and a higher appreciation of the different peoples on the globe, and may lead to the enactment of beneficent laws as well as to the formation of a powerful public opinion which shall promote this loftiest of objects.

Conclusions.—The present writer has taken the liberty to put forward as his conclusions certain proposals implicit in the Questionnaire published by the Congress Executive. He has preserved the wording as far as possible:—

1. (a) It is not legitimate to argue from differences in physical characteristics to differences in mental characteristics. (b) The physical and mental characteristics observable in a particular race are not (1) permanent, (2) modifiable only through ages of environmental pressure; but (3) marked changes in popular education, in public sentiment, and in environment generally, may, apart from intermarriage, materially transform physical and especially mental characteristics in a generation or two.

2. (a) The status of a race at any particular moment of time offers no index to its innate or inherited capacities. (b) It is of great importance in this respect to recognise that civilisations are meteoric in nature, bursting out of obscurity only to plunge back into it.

3. (a) We ought to combat the irreconcilable contentions prevalent among all the more important races of mankind that *their* customs, *their* civilisations, and *their* race are superior to those of other races. (b) In explanation of existing differences we would refer to special needs arising from peculiar geographical and economic conditions and to related divergences in national history; and, in explanation of the attitude assumed, we would refer to intimacy with one's own customs leading psychologically to a love of them and unfamiliarity with others' customs tending to lead psychologically to dislike and contempt of these latter.

4. (a) Differences in economic, hygienic, moral, and educational standards play a vital part in estranging races which come in contact with each other. (b) These differences, like social differences generally, are in substance almost certainly due to passing social conditions and not to innate racial characteristics, and the aim should be, as in social differences, to remove these rather than to accentuate them by regarding them as fixed.

5. (a) The deepest cause of race misunderstandings is perhaps the tacit assumption that the present characteristics of a race are the expression of fixed and permanent racial characteristics. (b) If so, anthropologists, sociologists, and scientific thinkers as a class, could powerfully assist the movement for a juster appreciation of races by persistently pointing out in their lectures and in their works the fundamental fallacy involved in taking a static instead

of a dynamic, a momentary instead of a historic, a local instead of a general, point of view of race characteristics. (c) And such dynamic teaching could be conveniently introduced into schools, more especially in the geography and history lessons; also into colleges for the training of teachers, diplomats, colonial administrators, and missionaries.

6. (a) The belief in racial superiority is largely due, as is suggested above, to unenlightened psychological repulsion and under-estimation of the dynamic or environmental factors; (b) there is no fair proof of some races being substantially superior to others in inborn capacity, and hence our moral standard need never be modified.

7. (A) (a) So far at least as intellectual and moral aptitudes are concerned, we ought to speak of civilisations where we now speak of races; (b) the stage or form of the civilisation of a people has no connection with its special inborn physical characteristics; (c) and even its physical characteristics are to no small extent the direct result of the environment, physical and social, under which it is living at the moment. (B) To aid in clearing up the conceptions of *race* and *civilisation*, it would be of great value to define these.

8. (a) Each race might with advantage study the customs and civilisations of other races, even those it thinks the lowliest ones, for the definite purpose of improving its own customs and civilisation. (b) Unostentatious conduct generally and respect for the customs of other races, provided these are not morally objectionable, should be recommended to all who come in passing or permanent contact with members of other races.

9. (a) It would be well to collect accounts of any experiments on a considerable scale, past or present, showing the successful uplifting of relatively backward races by the application of purely humane methods; (b) also any cases of colonisation or opening of a country achieved by the same methods; (c) and such methods might be applied universally in our dealings with other races.

10. The Congress might effectively (a) carry out its object of encouraging better relations between East and West by encouraging or carrying out, among others, the above proposals, and more particularly (b) by encouraging the formation of an association designed to promote inter-racial amity.

[Paper submitted in English.]

SECOND SESSION

CONDITIONS OF PROGRESS (GENERAL PROBLEMS)

THE RATIONALE OF AUTONOMY

By JOHN M. ROBERTSON, M.P., *London.*

IN most discussions on the demands by members of subject races for self-governing institutions, there appears to be little recognition either of the strength of the historic case for autonomy, or of the vital danger of its perpetual prevention. Perhaps this is in part due to the mode in which such claims are usually pressed. The mouthpieces or champions of the depressed races commonly, and naturally, make the appeal to their masters on grounds of abstract right and justice; and, when met by the reply, "You are not qualified to govern yourselves," they as naturally retort with an indictment of the governing faculty of the controlling Power, and a claim to be equal in intelligence and civilisedness to other races who actually have attained autonomy. Thereafter the debate is apt to become a series of recriminations, the spokesmen of the ruling race using the language of contempt, and the other side the language of resentment.

Inasmuch as the handling of specific cases is apt to reopen such unprofitable disputes, it may be well to try to state the general case from the point of view of dispassionate political science, leaving for separate discussion the practical problems of method and initiation in given instances. To this end we have first to make clear the implications of the negative answer commonly given to the aspiring "native." It really amounts to confessing that all peoples who have not hitherto governed themselves are relatively undeveloped; that, in short, self-government is the prerequisite of any high level of social organisation and general capacity. This implication, however, is not always avowed, even

by the more thoughtful exponents of "imperialism" in our own day; and until recent times it was rather the exception than the rule for historians even to note that when, in ancient Greece and Rome, an end was put to the life of free discussion and political conflict, the general level of human faculty began to sink. The truth that the habit of constant debate and the perpetual practice of affairs are the vital conditions of intellectual and moral betterment for communities as wholes, is still far short of being a current axiom. Yet it is proved alike by the decay of the classic civilisations after the ending of autonomy and by the advance of modern civilisation hand in hand with autonomy. And no great subtlety of analysis is needed to explain the necessity.

Even the strongest champions of the rule of advanced over backward races admit the evils of 'despotism': it is indeed one of the main pleas of British imperialists that British rule is better for those under it than the "native" despotism which would be the only alternative. Yet the same reasoners constantly avow the fallibility of British rulers; inasmuch as they mostly belong to one of two parties, of each of which the members habitually impeach alike the capacity and the good faith of those of the other. Unless, then, it is alleged that a man confessedly fallible in dealing with the members of his own advanced race becomes infallible when dealing with men whose language, ideals, and religion are alien to his, it follows that mistakes are made by all dominant races in their treatment of subject races.

Is it to be desired, then, that the latter should be either too unintelligent to know when they are misruled or too apathetic to care? The avowal of either desire would obviously amount to a complete condemnation of the ideal or polity involving it. Every polity professes to aim at betterment. But where there exist no means of correction or protest on the part of those who suffer by errors of government, there must be generated either apathetic despair or a smouldering resentment. It would be gratuitously absurd to expect that the men of the "backward" race should be positively more patiently forgiving or more cheerfully tolerant than their "advanced" masters. If they can be so, they are the more "advanced" race of the two, in some of the main points of capacity for self-rule. If, on the other hand, they are not to be either brutalised or prostrated, they must think and criticise; and, as John Stuart Mill long ago pointed out, efficient thinking cannot coexist with a settled belief—however acquired or imposed—in the entire beneficence of the ruler. To cognise beneficence there is needed judgment, reflection on experience; and absolute faith in the superior wisdom of the ruler would soon make an end of the

very faculty of judging, by making an end of its exercise. An unexercised reason cannot subsist. In a word, if the ruled are to progress, they must think and judge; and if they think and judge they must from time to time be dissatisfied. There is no escape from the dilemma; and if the ruling race is at all conscientious, at all sincere in its professed desire for the betterment of its subjects, it must desire to know when and why they are dissatisfied. The need for reciprocity holds no less, albeit with a difference, in the case of the ruler. To exercise an absolute control over a community or a congeries of communities in the belief that one is absolutely infallible, is to tread the path of insanity.

To know that one is politically fallible, and yet never to care for the opinion of those whom one may be at any moment misgoverning, is to set conscience aside. Either way, demoralisation or deterioration follows as inevitably for the ruler as for the ruled.

All history proclaims the lesson. Whether we take ancient despots ruling empires through satraps, or States playing the despot to other States, the sequence is infallibly evil. Never is there any continuity of sound life. In the absence of control from the governed, the despotisms invariably grew corrupt and feeble. On the substitution of despotic rule for self-rule, all the forces of civilisation began to fail. The State Imperialism of Rome was even more utterly fatal than the personal imperialism of Alexander and his successors: it destroyed alike the primary power of self-defence and the higher life throughout nearly its whole sphere, till all Western civilisation sank in chaos, and that of Byzantium survived in a state of mental stagnation only till as strong a barbarism assailed that as had overthrown the empire in the West. The domination of Florence over Pisa exhibited the fatality afresh; that of Spain over Italy had the same kind of double consequences; and the arbitrary rule of England over Scotland in the fourteenth century, and over France in the fifteenth, was similarly followed by periods of humiliation and decadence. It is only because of the much slighter implication of the national life in the remoter dominations of to-day that the harm is now so much less perceptible; the principle of harm can never be eliminated where the unsound relation subsists.

The contemporary problem may be put in a nutshell. Are the subject races of to-day progressing or not? If yes, they must be on the way, however slowly, to a measure of self-government. If not, the domination of the advanced races is a plain failure; and the talk of "beneficent rule" becomes an idle hypocrisy. The only possible alternative thesis is that the subject races are incapable of progress; and this is actually affirmed by some imperialists who

reason that only in "temperate climates" do the natural conditions essential to self-government subsist. Their doctrine may be left to the acceptance of all who can find ground for exultation and magniloquence in the prospect of a perpetual dominion of white men over cowed coloured races who secretly and helplessly hate them, in lands where white men can never hope to rear their own offspring.

If, instead of a dreary fatalism of that description, there is urged upon us the simple difficulty of building up a new social order in the tropical or semi-tropical lands where self-rule has never yet subsisted, and where mixture of races complicates every problem, we can at once assent. To plead difficulty is to admit desirability, and to confess that the perpetual absence of every element of political self-determination from a people's life means a failure of civilisation. Given that admission, difficulties may be faced in the spirit of good counsel.

But the first thing to be posited is a warning that "difficulty" and "ill-preparedness" are in no way special to the cases of tropical countries and so-called "backward" races. The critical process applied to these cases by those who commonly fall back on the formula of "unfitness" is extraordinarily imperfect. On their own view, those races are "fit" which have slowly attained self-government after starting on the journey at a notably low stage of "fitness," and undergoing on the way all manner of miscarriages, including civil war. Only by development out of unfitness, obviously, is fitness attainable. Yet the bare fact of unfitness is constantly posited as if it were the fixed antipodes of fitness. It is commonly put, for instance, as the decisive and final answer to any plea for the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India, that if India were evacuated by the British forces there would ensue civil war, if not a new war of conquest. That is of course an even superfluously valid argument against the evacuation of India, which no politician is known ever to have suggested. But it is put as if the bare potentiality were a demonstration of the unfitness of the Indian peoples collectively for any kind of institution tending ever so remotely towards autonomy. Now, within the English-speaking world, the mother country had civil wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; there was civil war between mother country and colonies towards the end of the eighteenth; and again within the independent United States and within Canada in the nineteenth—all this in a "race" that makes specially high claims to self-governing faculty. On the imperialist principle, a Planetary Angel with plenary powers would have intervened to stop the "premature experiment" of Anglo-Saxon self-government at any one of the stages specified—if indeed he had ever allowed it to begin.

It would seem that a first step towards a scientific or even a quasi-rational view of the problem must be to put aside the instinctive hypothesis that faculty for self-government is a matter of "race." The people of the United States, who began their own independent life by civil war and revolution, and have had a civil war since, have been largely wont to join with those of the mother country (whose history has included a round dozen of revolutions) in ascribing unfitness for self-rule to the South American Republics in general on the score of the number of revolutions in which they have indulged. Yet the South American State of Brazil has somehow contrived to solve peacefully the problem of slavery, which the United States could not solve without one of the most terrible civil wars in the world's history. Further, the South American State, after attaining republican government by a notably peaceful revolution, seems unhaunted by the shadow of a deadly Race Problem that dogs the Anglo-Saxon world in the North. It would seem that we must admit varieties of kind as well as degree in our conception of political fitness. In the middle of the nineteenth century, North Americans were found to impute unfitness for autonomy to the whole French people; and that people, after having undergone three revolutions within two generations of "the" Revolution, which was in itself a series of Revolutions, attained autonomy only after a cataclysm in which civil war followed upon a vast disaster in foreign war. To-day, however, probably no thoughtful person in either hemisphere disputes the fitness of France for autonomy, save in a remote philosophic sense in which fitness for autonomy may be denied to all peoples alike.

If the problem be reduced to its elements, in short, it will be found that none of the *à priori* arguments against autonomy for any race have any scientific validity. As a matter of fact, practical autonomy exists at this moment among the lowest and most retrograde races of the earth; and probably no experienced European administrator who has ever carried his thinking above the levels of that of a frontier trader will confidently say that any one of these races would be *improved* by setting up over them any system of white man's rule which has yet been tried. An extremely interesting experiment in white man's rule has been at work for a generation in Basutoland; but whatever may be its results, it seems likely to remain an isolated case.

The difficulties which stand in the way of autonomy for the leading subject-races consist—as apart from the simple unwillingness of many imperialists to proceed upon a road of reciprocity—in differences of social structure and external relations, not of mental or racial "character"; and much good might be done in promoting

better feelings between rulers and ruled, if this were frankly and intelligently avowed by the former. When Japan has developed a large measure of constitutional autonomy and China is visibly moving on the same path, it is sufficiently idle to talk either of "Oriental" or of "hereditary" incapacity for self-government. The differentia for India are in terms of (a) multiplicity and (b) extreme disparity of races, involving liability to conquest (c) from within and (d) from without. When, again, Turkey and Persia alike have for the time attained autonomy by revolution, and Russia is moving theretowards by convulsion after convulsion in one vast protracted revolution, it is sufficiently idle to talk of "unpreparedness" in Egypt. The differentia for Egypt are in terms of (a) variety of alien elements installed on the spot and (b) incapacity on that as well as on other grounds for secure self-defence against conquest. If but Hindus and Egyptians were rationally dealt with in terms of these real considerations, to the exclusion of plainly fallacious and sophistical objections, the chances of a good understanding between dominator and dominated would be much improved.

The very first step in the discussion would mean a recognition of the fundamental "fitness" of self-controlling machinery for all races alike. Putting aside all the "sentiment" accruing to the concepts of "liberty" and "independence," both parties would have agreed that it is good for a man to be an intelligent agent instead of a recalcitrant machine—and good for his controller likewise. Thereafter the problem would be one of determining from time to time exactly how far the relation of reciprocity can be developed between the controlling bureaucracy and the controlled, to the end of setting up the state of mutual responsibility. The rational acceptance of a relation of primary obligation might be made easy to all "natives" capable of practical politics by showing them how the virtual self-government of Britain has been evolved, and subsists, under the assertion of a primary right and power of dominion, on the part of the sovereign.

Given such a point of departure, the educing of local modes of rational relation between controllers and controlled may go on through the centuries at a rather more rapid rate than marked the evolution in the case of the Anglo-Saxon race—provided only that the controllers possess the capacity for one thing. That is to say, they must have the capacity to adjust themselves to the relation of sovereign-race and self-asserting subjects as the actual sovereigns of the past *had* to do. "Liberties" have been won by the peoples, thus far, either by convincing their arbitrary rulers that real power is after all in the hands of the majority, or by simply removing the rulers who could not admit it. In the case of dominant and subject

racess, where neither process is possible, the state of upward progress can be brought about only by substituting in the minds of the former a *sympathetic* relation for one of mere adjustment of forces. The race in power must be concerned to keep pace with the evolving faculty of the race in tutelage, striking a careful balance at all times between the forces of aspiration and resistance which conflict in all Societies. But, above all, it must do this calmly and scientifically in face of the vituperation of the progressive sections of the race in tutelage. And here lies the "great perhaps" of the political destinies of mankind.

Again, we may put the problem in a few words. In all autonomous countries political progress means constant friction and much embittered language between factions. To expect of the "backward" races that they shall be more considerate in their characterisation of the policies of their masters than those masters have ever been in their own faction-strifes, is plainly fantastic. It would seem no very great stretch of common sense to realise that when Liberal and Tory, for instance, habitually denounce each other's administration at home, they must look to having the administration of either or both denounced by those who have to endure it abroad. Yet the Briton can daily see in his newspapers the spectacle of journalists grossly vituperating their own Government in one column and in another denouncing as "sedition" all vituperation of it by Hindus. If this state of moral incoherence be not transcended by the majority or the ruling spirits, the problem of peaceful progress towards autonomy among the subject races is hopeless. The demand that the latter shall maintain an attitude of humble acquiescence for an indefinite time in the hope that when they have ceased to ask for anything they will spontaneously be given it, is quite the most senseless formula ever framed in any political discussion. Peoples so acquiescent would be the most thoroughly unfit for self-government that have yet appeared. They would be no longer "viable."

As the case stands, the responsibility clearly lies on the races in power. If they cannot make the small effort of self-criticism and consistency required to realise that they should tolerate blame from the races they dominate (since these can simply blame no one else for whatever misfortunes they endure), *and should still go on helping them forward*, the game is up.

In that case they will have failed to comprehend the necessary conditions of progress in the race relations in question; and when the history of the failure comes to be written, it will not be upon the victims of the failure, probably, that posterity will think it worth while to pass the verdict of "unfitness." It will be passed, if upon any, on the race which, imputing unfitness to those whose fate it controlled, was itself collectively unfit for the task of conducting them on

an upward path. Insisting on being their earthly Providence, it will have entitled them to curse it for all their troubles. And, boasting all the while of its supreme capacity, no less than of its high intentions, it will have earned from the dispassionate onlooker no claim to merciful judgment.

That there should occur such a bankruptcy of civilisation in respect of this one mode of relation between races while other relations are improving, seems, so to speak, unnecessary. The practical problem is certainly hard; but then so are all great practical problems in politics. What is most disquieting so far is the lack of semblance of any general comprehension of the theoretic problem. The danger seems to be that the personal equation of the least thoughtful and most brutal sections of the dominant races will keep the question indefinitely on the primitive level. When whole classes and parties are found declaring that the subject race shall have no concessions made to it until it ceases to use insubordinate language, it becomes acutely clear to the investigator that we are still at the stage before science if not before morals. Obviously the thoroughly subordinate race will never have any "concessions" made to it: concessions are things asked for and striven for. Does the dominator, then, suggest that he is improving a backward race by making it cultivate servility and hypocrisy? Is it not his frequent complaint that those qualities are dangerously developed already? What would he have?

Let the imperialist once become morally consistent and we can usefully come to the practical problem. It is primarily one of education. The strongest theoretical case that could be made out against the plea for a measure of self-government in a subject race would run somewhat thus: "Precisely because this race, as you argue, has not had the scrambling education gone through by our own, it cannot pass from complete subjection to any higher state. You admit that they cannot simply be let loose to begin with. Then they cannot have the needed preparation. The countries destined to self-government get there by walking on their own feet, with however many stumbles. Japan and Turkey may shake off their native absolutism and set up constitutionalism: they do it because they can. But for one race to *give* constitutionalism to another is a quite different thing. There is no case on record of even the attempt. Remember you will be giving it to a huge and heterogeneous population, many of whom do not even ask it, do not even dream of it."

Putting the counter case in that way, we answer that the argument from the past really begs the question. The fact that certain races have reached self-government through long endeavouring to

stand alone, in the "natural" way of the growing child, does not mean that a nation or a congeries of peoples long withheld from the given exercise of function can never *develop* it. There are superstitions in regard to evolution as in other matters; and history tells of change by initiation as well as by haphazard adaptation. If one born blind, or long blind, may be enabled by surgery to see, a race not bred to self-government may be enabled by example and institution to grow gradually into the practice of it. If Turkey and Japan, with an "Oriental" past, can of themselves enter upon the new life, races in tutelage may be inducted into it under guidance. And where unguided races have made the entrance by more or less spasmodic movements and with chronic friction and reaction, supervision may save others from the errors of ignorance.

Further, if only there be good-will on the part of the race in command, there is not more but less difficulty in the planned introduction of the rudiments of autonomy into any polity, however backward, than in the compassing of them by effort from within. Normally, the making of all the steps is by way of a fortuitous wrestle between progressive and reactionary forces equally impassioned: here, it lies with the ruling races to prepare for and time the steps. The preparation lies in the conveyance of the two forms of universal knowledge—knowledge how to live and work in the present, and knowledge of the historic past and of other polities. It is in terms of their failure to undertake this essential schooling that all dominant races thus far stand convicted of a mainly self-seeking relation to those in their power, all their protestations to the contrary notwithstanding.

Abstention from the task of education is confession either of fear or of indifference. Where it has never been undertaken, the charge of "unfitness" partakes of the nature of the indictment brought by the Wolf against the Lamb. The progress towards self-government began for our own race when other education was at a minimum. Let it be preceded for the backward races by such education as is within the competence of modern State machinery, and the old pretext of unfitness will become impossible. Given the initial steps, progression for the ruled in the discipline of self-government will be seen by the ruling races to be progression in co-operation, and will be desired instead of being feared.

Towards irreconcilables the attitude of wise friends of the subject races will simply be that of sane politicians towards extremists in other countries. The fact of intransigence is just a fact like another, one of the hundred variations in political outlook and bias which express the law of variation in all things. Aspiration or zeal without extremism has never occurred in any wide field of

human life, and never till mankind has reached a very remote stage of equilibrium conceivably will. Whatever, then, may be its reaction, good or bad, on the totality of progress, extremism is literally a condition of progress in the sense of being inextirpable. What is to be hoped concerning it, in the cases under notice, is that there as well as in the history of other races there will take place the usual amount of conversion through stress of experience to more moderate ideals. And such conversion will quite certainly be easier when the controlling Power is avowedly bent on promoting racial progress than when it is believed to be fundamentally hostile to all racial aspiration. For all extremism in politics the great prophylactic is steady progression. Those who would substitute for this conception that of a "one way to rule Orientals—force" are simply reviving for Orientals that blind denial of natural law which has meant so much strife for Occidentals in the past. They are the correlatives of the irreconcilables who demand instant "freedom"; and, error for error, theirs is the worse.

[Paper submitted in English.]

INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

By Dr. PAUL S. REINSCH,

*Professor of International Law in the University of Wisconsin,
U.S.A., Theodore Roosevelt Professor at Berlin for 1911-12.*

IN speaking on a subject so broad as that indicated by the title of this paper, it would be easy to fall into a discussion composed of vague generalisations. Yet this certainly would not correspond with the desires of the Committee which fixed the programme; they did not, as was actually done by a small college in the west of the United States, intend to create a chair of Pantology. I shall therefore endeavour to be concrete in the few suggestions which I have to contribute in this discussion, and to indicate in a specific manner how the modern tendencies of civilisation are influenced by geographical situation, by economic activities, and by the forms of political action.

I am not in fear of contradiction when I state that the cardinal fact of contemporary civilisation is the unification of the world, the emergence of organic relations, world-wide in scope, uniting the branches of the human family in all parts of the earth. This result is due primarily to the really marvellous advances made in all the methods and processes of communication. Distance has

been annihilated, and lands on the opposite sides of the earth, formerly mysterious to one another, are now next-door neighbours. In the train of these advances there has followed the organisation of the economic life of the world upon a centralised system. Economic power is radiated from the European and American centres to the farthest corners of Africa and Asia. Railways and other engineering works are executed, agricultural and mining resources are developed, through energies propelled from the great financial centres. Moreover, the scientific and technical processes employed in industry and commerce are also being standardised upon a uniform basis. With variations imposed by climatic and other physical conditions, the scientific methods of the world are nevertheless practically uniform, and this uniformity reacts upon and strengthens the unity of economic organisation. Last, but not least important, there arises from all these mechanical and industrial advances a true psychic unity of mankind. The daily news is the same the world over in its great important facts. Its items are flashed from zone to zone, and in the morning and evening papers the reading world of all the continents follows the same dramatic unfolding of political and social world life. Great types of character are no longer merely national household names, but their lineaments are known the world over and everywhere interest is taken in their views and actions. There is a world-wide sympathy, so that if evil befall in California, or Chile, or Italy, or China, the entire world is affected and all nations are anxious to offer their aid and bear their share of the burden.

The growth of world unity which we have witnessed in our day has already modified, and even superseded to some extent, the effect of geographic separation, of political nationalism or particularism, and of economic exclusiveness. Economic and social forces are beginning to flow in a broad natural stream, less and less hampered by dynastic and partisan intrigue, by protectionist walls, by monopolies and all sorts of exclusive privileges.

In past ages, indeed, geographic separation was a fundamental fact. Mountains, deserts, and the sea set limits to the expansion of races and separated them from one another to such an extent as to prevent mutual acquaintance and understanding. Civilisation on this earth will, indeed, always be dependent upon physical environment, but the complete dominance of local conditions over national development is a thing of the past. The domination of natural forces has been largely overcome by scientific mastery, subduing nature through its processes and unifying the different branches of the human race. It is here that we touch upon the great achievement of Western civilisation in the conquest of nature. The mastery

of man over physical forces is the primal fact. To me, what distinguishes Europe from Asia is the spirit of the Greeks with all that it implies, with all that developed out of it. It is in the narrow valleys of Hellas, confined by high mountains yet looking out upon the sea, that humanity first became conscious of itself and of its destiny. Protected from being overborne by the sweep of conquering hordes in the great migrations that preceded settled nationalism, yet with a breadth of view that came from looking out upon the ocean, the Greek cities could acquire that stability which enabled them to be the theatre of an independent and consistent political development. Thus, secure and protected, they passed in review the things of this world, and there arose that spirit of free discussion which is the beginning of all progress and all inventiveness. Things are no longer taken for granted, but the reason of their being is inquired into. This state of mind also meant a development of independent individualism. Athens was a great school in which men educated each other, and no nation within a period so short as the hundred years preceding 400 B.C. has developed so brilliant and striking a line of great personalities as those who flourished in the small city of Athens during the years of her prime. In this Greek experience there is contained the root of that individualism, that national self-consciousness, that adaptability and inventiveness, which, to my mind, form the essence of Western civilisation, and which have been unfolded in its later history.

It is not surprising that in the Orient the idea of the dominance of man over nature did not occur. Where the cloud-piercing Himalayas set a horizon to all possible expansion; where mighty rivers, descending in spring torrents, flood whole provinces, sweeping away mankind together with its handiwork; where earthquakes and tidal waves devastate the coastal regions—it is not surprising that here man would not conceive of himself as the master of nature, the lord of creation. So terrible is nature in her manifestations that man bows down in awe and at her hands accepts life as a favour. It is not surprising that the Orient lived by custom, that it was reluctant to venture beyond what experience had proved safe and salutary, that it erected class and caste systems for protection against the mutability of things.

It is in this connection that the presence of fixed boundaries defining rather narrow territories is important. Nationalism first grew in Greece and Italy, protected by mountains and by the sea, and in the modern world it was England, whose insular position enabled her first to develop a self-conscious and independent national life. In Africa the absence of such boundaries has contributed to hinder the development of civilisation. The tribes are not settled

long enough, nor are their boundaries sufficiently fixed for them to develop those qualities which are based upon stability of location. The eternal shifting back and forth of population elements has retarded African development; to a lesser degree and in a different manner has operated in the Indian and Chinese world. India, a vast country readily overrun by conquerors, has appeared a continent rather than a nation, and instead of like Attica in its protected nook developing a stable political system, India has relied upon the caste system for protection against the ever-shifting mutations of power and population. China, too, has appeared to her people more as a world than as a nation. It was again Japan that, like Greece and England, and like Chile in South America, first developed an intense spirit of nationalism and first achieved a true national organisation, because her territorial extent was small and her boundaries were strictly defined. She was protected against that influence of humanity in the mass which does not allow the spirit of individualism to stand forth in nations or in men.

But the gift of science and invention developed in the West has now become the heritage of the entire world, and the vast populations of Asia are profoundly stirred in the transition to new views of life. They, too, are grasping the idea of natural law, of scientific mastery, and with it they are turning to the individualism and nationalism of the West. The conquest of Nature is thus becoming a world-wide phenomenon in which all races share. Distance is overcome, and what is accessible to one part of the world is brought to the door of all the others. Thus conditions are assimilated, and, through the spread of scientific processes, methods of thought and of action are becoming more and more alike the world over. Science is the same everywhere. The engineering solutions in railway building, irrigation, and other mechanical works are identical; physics and chemistry are the same in France, America, and Japan. Thus scientific method is a unit through which the separating influence of geographic location is overcome. Through participation in the scientific spirit, those deep-lying differences in point of view, which had been developed through centuries of historic experience, are giving way to a unified mode of seeing and solving the problems of life.

We may here ask whether this development does not introduce a danger or resuscitate an old peril under a new form? We have seen that humanity needed local protection against the indiscriminate onslaughts of the mass. Now that natural boundaries have ceased to be determining factors on account of the supremacy of the human mind over physical conditions, is it not to be feared that humanity will be reduced to an indiscriminate mass lacking

distinction—in a word, that it will be vulgarised and barbarised? We are still in need of cores or nuclei about which human self-consciousness may gather. It is here that the usefulness of nationalism, with its ideals, lies. When the physical conditions which gave it birth have lost in relative importance, humanity is, nevertheless, still in need of that distinguishing national self-consciousness under which its ideals and achievements will be further protected and developed. As mere localism the national idea has lost force. As a means by which values fixed and gained in the struggle of history may be preserved for the future it still has a meaning and importance.

The economic world having become a unit, its parts mutually complement each other. One region produces what another requires, and it again takes from that second the products which it cannot itself bring forth. This is especially true of the tropics and the moderate zone, as, between these, physical facts will always have a preponderating influence. Most of the things grown in the tropics cannot be produced in the colder zones. The mutual dependence is in the nature of things permanent. Modern development has simply made it easier to supply the needs of one another, and have centralised the exploitation of tropical industries in a notable manner. But how about the countries lying within moderate zones? Will not the very similarity of scientific and industrial methods lead to more intense competition among them, or is it possible that there should be such a specialisation as will give to each a well-defined field of activity? Will such products as wheat, cattle, iron, tea, cotton, and silk be distributed locally, so as to avoid rivalry? It would seem that any intensifying of competition brought about by the development of scientific methods can only be temporary and superficial. Where science controls, the activities of each part of the world will be determined by underlying facts which, when once recognised, will have to be accepted without murmur or contradiction. As long as coal lasts industries may still be built up on a partly artificial basis; but when that source of energy has once become exhausted, other forces more stationary in their nature will determine the localities where industry may profitably be carried on. The presence of water-power will be the first element in this determination. In regions where it is found, and to which the power generated may be taken, the industrial life of the future will develop. In this and other respects natural conditions will more and more determine the location of industries, to the exclusion of artificial and political factors. It is evident that this development will favour free trade and the abolition of all law-made restrictions. Already the days of excessive protectionism are counted. Conventional tariffs, reciprocity, and all

kinds of mutual adjustments have taken the place of the high-tariff policy based upon the idea that nations are entirely self-sufficing and that political and economic areas are synonymous. Henceforth natural currents of trade will more and more determine economic policy, when it has been found that policy would attempt in vain to determine the direction of these currents.

Another phase of the newer developments of economic life is the internationalism of capital. In order that natural forces may be utilised to their fullest extent, it is necessary that technical management and power may be readily transferred to any place where it is needed. Capital is controlled by the law of the highest returns. It therefore instinctively and consciously seeks to co-operate with the forces of Nature; its returns are most ample where Nature herself has created the proper conditions. From this point of view, it is necessary that the entire earth should be opened to industrial enterprise, that the capital and energy of any nation should be free to engage in the development of natural resources wherever found, and should be safe in undertaking such development. The web and woof of financial power, human energy, industrial enterprise, human labour and natural resources are making real that possibility of universal inter-dependence which the technical advance of the world has promised for some time.

Thus in every way the basis of artificial trade and industrial policies is weakening, as nations recognise their mutual dependence. Like scientific technique, industrial efficiency knows no national moods; while still at times wedded to national policies it is essentially human and world-wide. The test of success being not adherence to narrower national ideals, but in the power to solve problems on a basis whose universal validity must be recognised by all, nations are thus more and more inclined to foster international relations in economic life. They owe it to their citizens to enable them to participate in these great activities. The standards are set by world-wide action, and success is measured by these wherever attempted or achieved. While national policy still strives to reserve some special benefits to citizens, the dominant note in industrial life is no longer national but international. This is also indicated by the manner in which practically every economic interest has organised itself on an international scale. Such great unions as those in which the activities of insurance, of railway management, of shipping, of agriculture, of building, of law, of education, and of science are discussed and acted upon, are the final proof that economic organisation has for ever abandoned the narrower field and recognises no confining local limits.

In history, political life has been conditioned by economic and

geographical facts. The manner in which this operated in the case of the Greek cities has already been pointed out. Physical conditions set limits, even to the ambitions of imperial Rome. Again the despotism of Russia was made possible by natural causes, and English and Japanese nationalism is the result of a physical fact. As through the scientific progress of the world the importance of these factors has been largely reduced, shall we conclude that the age of internationalism has come in politics to the same degree as it has come in economic life? There is a difference. The development of economic internationalism is a work in which every progressive nation will co-operate with all its power. Also we may say any nation withdrawing from this movement condemns itself to sterility and decay. But it is not so clear that political nationalism has entirely completed its service to humanity. In the words of one of the speakers of to-day, the Sister Nivedita, words found in her brilliant pamphlet on Aggressive Hinduism, "Only the tree that is firm rooted in its own soil can offer us a perfect crown of leaf and blossom, only the fully national can possibly contribute to the cosmo-national." The civilised nation to-day will recognise that its aim is humanity, and that the mission of its policy transcends by far the limits of geographical boundary, but we cannot as yet dispense with these nuclei of human force and ideals which history has developed. They are the great personalities which make up the system of civilised states. When their work is fully done, they will pass away, but for a time still it will be their mission to organise the efforts of humanity to higher ends and to protect mankind against engulfment in an indiscriminate mass, with a lowering of all ideals.

Turning more specifically to political action, we shall note that through the present development, which we have been following, the antithesis between politics in the narrower and in the broader sense is bound to disappear. More narrowly defined, politics is the struggle of men and of groups for recognised authority; more broadly, it is the management and administration of the common affairs of a nation. To Machiavelli it was principally the former; to Burke it would be the latter. But it is apparent that these distinctions must disappear, as political leaders realise more and more clearly that their success is bound up with good administration. Now, administration is becoming more and more purely a matter of science. The expert side of public work has assumed such proportions that the old Greek idea and the Jacksonian Democratic principle of rotation in office seems entirely primitive and inadequate. The American Government in its Department of Agriculture alone annually spends £2,000,000 sterling a year for purely scientific investigation. Solutions of science control as well in the army,

the navy, and all the developmental activities of government. So it is no longer a matter of favour or of caprice what course of action shall be followed and what men shall be selected to do the work, but in these things scientific demonstration and impartial tests control. This is also true of such fields as taxation, railway control, and the inspection of all other economic activities. The prominence of the expert side of government, therefore, gives to that scientific unity, which permeates others fields of life, the same importance in public affairs. Thus the States become members of international unions in which expert administrations exchange their experience and formulate rules and principles for their common guidance.

The principle of expert administration in modern government is balanced by that of public discussion in parliaments. The danger of bureaucratic narrowness, which may be present even in men guided by scientific judgment, is met by calling upon the public in general to participate in State affairs, to make known its opinion, and to select representatives who will constitute a "great inquest" of the nation. Thus there is supplied a corrective of administrative decisions and a motive power which gives original strength and energy to the acts of government. The same unifying tendencies which we have observed in other branches of human life are found here. The significance of the modern universal tendencies towards parliamentarism will be discussed by other speakers. From them we shall hear what effects are to be expected from the recent institutional changes in Turkey, Persia, Japan, China, and Russia, and from the Liberal movement in Mexico. When those new vast forces of public interest and energy are brought into the political field of action, we may indeed expect that the policies of the world will be profoundly influenced. It would be an interesting inquiry to try to trace out in detail how far the unifying power of scientific civilisation could be expected to operate upon parliamentary institutions and popular electorates the world over. With a mutual assimilation of the forms of government, there still remain very deep-seated differences in popular sentiment, which a growing scientific culture must seek gradually to overcome. Prejudices among broad masses of humanity are usually used as material for reactionary policies. The expectations that democratic Parliaments would always be pacific and humane have been disappointed; but the great gain from the recent changes which we have noted will be that the progress of humanity in the future will not depend on narrower groups or coteries, but upon the manner in which humanity itself, that is, the masses of mankind, are able to respond to higher demands and ideals.

The basis of political action is thus constantly being broadened out. The men who compose Governments must take into account natural conditions and scientific methods, and participation in public action is extended to constantly larger numbers. In the latter, primal passions and prejudices are still active ; but with the spread of intelligence and scientific methods of thought they too will come to appreciate more and more the underlying unity of mankind. Intelligence, allied on the one hand to the ideals of a common humanity, on the other to a grasp of the complex, but unifying, forces that make up the modern industrial world—this intelligence we may rely upon to make political action more and more rational. In the last analysis, the highest demands of humanity and of efficiency are one; the world advances because the ideal attracts, and because science compels.

[Paper submitted in English.]

LANGUAGE AS A CONSOLIDATING AND SEPARATING INFLUENCE

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt.,

Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.

THE relations between language and nationality vary very much at different stages of evolution. If we imagine a nation to commence, as its name implies, merely as an interbreeding group of human beings, it is evident that each group of the kind will have a common language or system of phonetic symbols for the communication of ideas, and that whoever transfers himself from one group to another will be compelled to adopt the system of the latter, unless he can force them to adopt his. But when the nation becomes a political unit, it may very well embrace numerous groups of the kind. It will be sufficient if there are a few persons capable of acting as interpreters. Hence both in ancient and in modern times there have been nations in the wider sense without a national language; such, *e.g.*, is the case of Switzerland in the present day; and the Babylonian king who issued rescripts to "all peoples, nations, and languages" was addressing the inhabitants of one empire, and in the larger sense the members of one nation. But even where there is a national language, as in the British Isles, there may be groups of the population who rarely use it; even in London it is worth many a candidate's while to issue his address in a foreign language in order to appeal to a section of the constituents. Sometimes these groups are fluctuating, and the next generation will have adopted the national language; in

other cases a peculiar dialect or even language is tenaciously maintained by local groups, who, however, may be as patriotic as the rest. On the other hand, two or more nations may have the same national language, and yet be no appreciably nearer to each other than if they spoke different tongues; understanding in one sense does not prevent misunderstanding in another.

Of the various ties which bind human beings together that of common language seems to possess no great strength. Other bonds protect it rather than it them. Where in the same city different languages are spoken in different quarters, the quarters are not isolated because the inhabitants speak different languages, but they speak different languages because they are isolated. They are isolated owing to religion or nationality; and each preserves its own dialect in consequence. This is the case, *e.g.*, in some Persian cities; yet even there most of the inhabitants become bilingual or trilingual; were it not for the real bonds which keep the groups together the linguistic differences would quickly disappear.

Even where religion and nationality are able to maintain the interbreeding group in its purity, they often fail to maintain the national language. How variable their efficiency is in this matter can be illustrated from the phenomena of the Islamic empire; the East Syrians have maintained their vernacular, the West Syrians have lost theirs; Armenian is still spoken in Armenia, but Coptic is no longer spoken in Egypt. The Jews, like the Copts, might be taken as a type of a tenaciously interbreeding group; yet the Jews have no national language; they speak a patois of German or Spanish, or else make the language of their neighbours their own. Both these races have indeed retained religious languages as the possession of the learned among them; but for ordinary use "a live dog is better than a dead lion."

Statesmen in both ancient and modern times have assumed that the spirit of national independence must be fostered by the maintenance of a national language; and just as under the Roman Republic the revolt of the Allies was accompanied by an attempt to resuscitate Oscan, so in our day the ardent Irish Nationalist would like to see Irish take the place of English in the Emerald Isle. A policy of this sort seems to be based on a confusion of ideas. Like the Sabbath, like weights and measures, like the coinage, language exists for man, not man for language. A private language has about the same value as a cipher; it enables a group of men to communicate without being understood by others; but the cipher gives them no advantage unless they can understand the others. The interests of the statesman are wholly different from those of the antiquarian or the naturalist; uniformity is the ideal of the one, variety what

charms the others. That a great nation can arise without a peculiar language is demonstrated by the example of the United States ; that nationality may be maintained in defiance of time and space, though the national language is forgotten, is proved by the history of the Jews. The endeavour therefore to turn an obscure vernacular into a national language when the nation is already in possession of one of the great languages of civilisation is not unlike in wisdom to the practice of burning bank-notes in order to show contempt for the bank that issued them.

The converse practice, forcible suppression of a language for fear of its preserving a nationality which the statesman wishes to merge in another is somewhat more benevolent, but unlikely to compass its end. Polish children who are made to learn German or Russian instead of their mother tongue will certainly be better equipped for the battle of life than if they had been taught Polish ; for the utility of a language varies with the number of persons whom it enables one to understand. But that a Polish child will be prevented from becoming a Polish patriot because it has been compelled to learn some language other than Polish is an assumption not justified by experience. As has been seen, those interbreeding groups that have preserved nationality most tenaciously have lost their national languages.

It might be thought that the possession of a national literature, as a ground for national pride, would add to the isolating power of a national language. There are reasons which either modify this effect or even annul it. On the one hand, any national literature that is of value is international ; seven cities claim to be Homer's birthplace ; Paris has a public monument to Shakespeare ; the Bible—originally a collection of Hebrew and Greek books—is pronounced by a queen to be the source of England's greatness. Treasures are of little value if they are not coveted. Carlyle would not have regarded Shakespeare as a better national asset than the Cossacks if only England knew of Shakespeare. And as a rule the hereditary owners of such treasures are proud and delighted that others should share or even enter into their inheritance.

Literary masterpieces can take care of themselves, for there will always be men eager to master their original languages in order to interpret them correctly ; and since the variations in language which are due to time are as great as those due to any other cause, the hereditary interpreter will not necessarily be the best interpreter ; those who have done most for the interpretation of the Greek classics have as a rule had little acquaintance with the dialects of modern Greek.

Languages, then, are not worth artificially preserving either for

patriotic or literary purposes ; like railways, they are instruments for communication ; and the question whether it is desirable to have many languages or one is not very different from the question whether it is best for each country to have its own gauge or that all should have a common gauge. The protection from invasion afforded by a separate gauge is slight ; the facilities for commerce provided by a uniform gauge are vast. The advantage to Europe and to mankind of a common language would be infinitely greater than any loss which could be sustained through the abandonment of a national language. The sound principle for determining what gauge should be adopted, if the gauges of the countries were different and it were decided that they should* be unified, would be this : capital and energy are assets of the whole world, whence the mode of unification should be that which expended least capital and least energy. The gauges should be altered to the gauge of the country which had the greatest mileage and the largest amount of rolling stock.

The same is the sound principle on which the unification of language may one day be attempted ; perhaps our Congress will have played a modest part in preparing the way. The invention of a new language would be the least economical method ; for any language in possession of literary monuments, and which has been used for journalism, has accumulations of "rolling stock" in the shape of phraseology and idioms for which a substitute would have to be provided. Those accumulations represent in any case the expenditure of much energy ; in the case of the great languages of civilisation vast expenditure, much of the product would necessarily have to be thrown away in the event of unification, but it would be wasteful to abandon what could be preserved.

Like most human institutions, language has been the subject of numerous prejudices and superstitions ; but few of these are now deserving of either notice or refutation. The excellence of language is that it should be clear and not mean ; in these words Aristotle (as usual) summed up all that can be said on the subject. Suppose that Arabic and English were spoken by the same number of individuals, the scale would be turned in favour of English by the considerations that it inserts its vowels, employs capitals, and can use italics ; a page of English is therefore vastly clearer than a page of Arabic. Between the great languages of Western civilisation—English, French, and German—it would not be possible to decide by these tests ; none of them leaves anything to be desired in either clearness or sublimity. The only principle capable of application would be that which has been suggested—let that language be universally adopted the adoption of which could be effected with the greatest economy.

We have already seen that the study of literary monuments is a wholly different matter from the acquisition of a language for practical use. With us the Latin and Greek languages form parts of a liberal education; the one because the basis of European civilisation is Latin, the other because the mightiest monuments of human thought are Greek. Few, however, of those who study these languages in their youth ever have occasion to use them for communication. They are taught and cultivated because man does not live by bread alone. There is no reason why any living national language should not survive in its nation in the same way as Latin, or in the world in the same way as Greek. Some theoretic knowledge of it will always be desirable in order that later generations may learn whence they came; and if it have produced monuments worthy of immortality, they will be immortal. But the desirability of preserving languages for these purposes, or for the purposes of those who investigate forms and roots, does not affect the question whether it is desirable that the world should continue or should cease to be a Babel. Reverence and affection, qualities which go to make up patriotism, may always be displayed in preserving and adorning; they need not be displayed in employing. Economy and efficiency should govern the selection of instruments for employment; and they point to the ultimate adoption of one of the three great languages of Western civilisation as the language of mankind. Such an arrangement need interfere with no national glories, no religious isolation, though the tendency of the immediate future is for religions, like seas, to join the regions they divide. Its effect would be only the beneficent one—facilitation of intercourse and economy of energy.

The unification of language within great areas has probably been more often brought about by voluntary obedience to these principles than by actual compulsion. Preparation for the ultimate object must necessarily be slow; the world must be made bilingual before it can be made unilingual; greater uniformity must be obtained in the matter of the second language, which is destined ultimately to supersede the first except in one linguistic area. The waste of energy arising from want of uniformity in this matter is notorious; thus the *Encyclopædia of Islam* has to be issued in three languages, when two should be ample, and one sufficient. But when once man has become more generally bilingual, when there is a recognised language for international and cosmopolitan communication of all kinds, the way towards unification of language will at least have been indicated.

[Paper submitted in English.]

RELIGION AS A CONSOLIDATING AND
SEPARATING INFLUENCE

By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Ph.D., LL.D., D.Sc.,

Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester;

and Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS,

*Hon. Special Lecturer on Indian Philosophy in the University of
Manchester.*

THE more one thinks about this subject the more complicated and difficult it appears to be. To treat it adequately it would be necessary to take all cases in the history of the world of one race brought into contact with another, and to consider, in each case, the part played by religion in the resulting effect. A comparison of the different results in the different cases would then open up the way to certain qualified conclusions which would not fail to be both interesting and instructive. This is precisely one of the problems to which the young science of Comparative Religion hopes eventually to be able to give attention. It is also one of the numerous social and religious problems to which the scientific method has not yet been applied. The facts have not yet been collected. We have vague generalisations drawn from single instances. We have suggestive studies on one or two of the best known cases. But no attempt has yet been made to deal with the question as a whole.

A single case, though useless as the basis of any general conclusion, may be useful to illustrate some of the difficulties involved, some of the points that will have to be determined before any such general conclusion can be formulated.

When a horde of splendid barbarians who had accepted Mohamet's doctrine of death to the infidels, burst upon the civilised states of Asia, they were no doubt inspired, in the fury of their onslaught, by what they would have called their religion. To each state in turn they offered the terrible alternative of conversion, tribute, or the sword. The amazingly swift and successful spread of Mohammedanism, from the time it started on its career as a militant missionary movement, engulfing in three or four centuries the half of three continents, is a matter of modern history. It seems to vindicate religion as, at the same time, a social consolidator and social disintegrator without parallel. What other motive, unless it were the driving consensus of hunger, could have availed so to stir and urge the different sections of the Semitic race hither and thither under the common banner of one Prophet,

athirst to fling the world on its knees before the throne of the one God? From this present-time perspective, the movement reads like a frenzy for human consolidation, working by way of an equally frenzied disintegrating machinery. When we contemplate the loyalty, among many millions, of one man to another as servants of the Prophet, in the wake of that mighty wave of war, it is the consolidating power of religion that impresses us. When we consider the outrageous barbarity of the mind that says: "Because X has told me what to believe, I am going to kill you, unless you say X was right," we are overwhelmed with the baneful cleavage wrecking the progress in human concord and wrought in the name of religion.

Nor can it be generally claimed for militant propagandists, whether of Islam, or of the Christian Church, warring against heretics, that their dominant motive was altruistic or ethical. Personal salvation for the individual rather than the good of the attacked, is put forward as the one thing needful and the exceeding great reward. Founders and reformers in all religions reveal the great heart that yearns to gather the human brood together in love and concord. But the fierce missionary more often appeals to individual interest. And this makes men act in concert rather along the parallel lines of individualism than along the converging lines of solidarity and mutual service. The questions: "What shall I do to be saved?" and "What shall I do to be of service?" may both be accounted as religious, but only the latter makes essentially and entirely for solidarity. The former question has at times found its solution in a life of solitude and withdrawal from sharing in the common lot.

In both of these extreme types, therefore,—the propagandist with sword in hand, and the apparently misanthropical recluse—we seem to see religion manifesting itself as a disintegrator among the factors that tend to bring mankind into closer mutual intercourse.

But is it after all accurate, in connection with Jehads and Crusades and persecutions and inquisitions, to call the motive and spring of these, religion? Is not religion possibly a pretext employed to veil the real motives? Consider the elements engaged in any so-called religious war on either side. Never has any one of them approached the spiritual plane of the one host or the other in the Holy War dreamt of by our John Bunyan—the celestial armies of the Lord of hosts, and the battalions of evil spirits bent on the spiritual ruin of mankind and the reconquest of heaven. It needs a child's simple faith to people the camps of Crusaders or Covenanters with hearts burning with the white purity and

single-mindedness of a Joan of Arc. It is as impossible to imagine the first Christians going forth sword in hand to slay unbelievers as it is to picture a Buddhist, first or last, taking up arms against his fellow-creatures. "Put up again thy sword into the sheath," said Jesus to his first Crusader. "If My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight." Nor can the militant Christian justly infer from the words: "I came not to send peace but a sword," that it was a Christian's duty to be he who should draw the sword. Unmodified, unqualified for early Christians, as for all Buddhists, is St. James's answer to his own question: "Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust and have not; ye kill and desire to have. Ye fight and war . . . because ye ask not. Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume upon your lusts."

"That worldly motives," writes Mr. Haines in his *Islam as a Missionary Religion*, "played a large part in the conversion, not only of the Arabs but of the other nations that were conquered and converted by the Saracens, cannot be denied, and the Arab apologist dwells at some length upon the fact." When the Arabs of the harvestless desert tasted the delicacies of civilisation and revelled in the luxurious palaces of Chosroes, "By Allah," said they in their wonder and delight, "even if we cared not to fight for the cause of God, yet we could not but wish to contend for and enjoy these, leaving distress and hunger henceforth to others." Desire for gain, from the bare need of necessities that parted the Abrams from the Lots in so many folk-migrations up to the quest of treasure that drove the Spaniards over the seas and against the Aztecs, with the cry (O irony of history!) of Sant' Iago—St. James, their own denouncer—on their tongues, has waved on its hosts with the banner of religious zeal.

Race-aversion and race-pride is another cause of cleavage between man and man that finds in religious zeal and orthodox aggression a convenient outlet. Surviving as a fossil even in Buddhism, the very gospel of mutual toleration and amity, where the term "Ariya" has come to mean, not race-complacency but ethical excellence, hate of the alien as alien and not only as infidel, appears too obviously in religious wars to need exemplifying. And the enmity may become intensified when the alien is the embodiment of successful rivalry, or of radically different social institutions. When the Christian, sheathing the sword, prays for all Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics, he confesses those as most needing escape from damnation who are not only aliens, but who are or were the embodiments of success in business on the

one hand and, on the other, of aggressive restlessness and Asiatic institutions. The Spaniard might live side by side with the Moslem; the Frank and the Teuton could not. And further, where there has been aggression in the name of religion *within* national borders, the anger of orthodoxy may always be traced at least in part to motives due to enmity of a political, social, and economic nature.

The terse and trenchant summary of St. James, which we quote, has so thrust us on to two of the three great roots of man's miseries preached by Buddhism, greed and enmity, that we find ourselves in face of the remaining root or cause, and do not hesitate to bring it forward. If with Buddhist doctrine we class the yearning for rebirth in heaven under the general motive of greed or desire of gain, and if we then eliminate from all aggressive and inquisitorial measures, carried out under the sanction of religion, the greed and the enmity therein finding expression, we shall not greatly err in attributing the residual impulse to *moha* or unintelligence. It was over a Jerusalem that, with unintelligent, uncomprehending orthodoxy, persecuted the messengers of a new and purer word that Jesus wept. "If thou hadst known," hadst understood, hadst discerned, "the things that belong to thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes." That rulers and statesmen may discern in the rallying and concentrating attending a war the best occasion for effecting political unity is conceivable. But it is impossible to conceive any mind that has really grasped the spirit of an ethical religion, of a creed confessing a benevolent deity, to loose the dogs of war upon his fellow-men, or to coerce belief by prison or the stake. The stupidity behind "man's inhumanity to man" is perhaps the most tragic thing about it.

Once more: we have alluded to the apparently disintegrating effect of religion in the case of the recluse, driving him into an anti-social career of solitary living. But neither is the mind of monachistic temperament so simple as to act solely by one motive, religious or other. We must first eliminate all the Christian Jeromes and the Buddhist Makākassapas, who adopt a retreat at intervals as a spiritual rest cure in the intervals of missionary labours, or again as an opportunity for intellectual production. These are only cases of men separating from their fellows, the better to work for universal amity. Nor must we confuse monachism with monasticism. Within cloistered precincts, the wider intercourse of the world is usually renounced in favour of the closer sodality of co-religionists. There remains the thorough-paced lifelong recluse. And here again, while not denying him religious ardour, we discern other motives beneath the religious pretext, or, at best, side by side with

the religious motive. Men and women who are happiest in wild nature, who stifle in cities or in tamed confines of any sort, may be atavistic or morbidly shy, or otherwise abnormal.¹ But they are real types. And that injunction of all genuine religion which bids us foster the habit, with Plotinus as with the Buddhists, of "going alone to the Alone," affords such of them as are not frankly irreligious, a sanction for their natural bent.

If, on the other hand, we examine movements of social groups towards unity and concord made in the name of religion, we shall find it equally difficult to affirm that the driving power is genuinely religious. The human love of novelty and change may receive gladly the inoculation of religious ideas from without, and fraternise with its adherents over the border. The latter would dream they were advancing human fraternity by good missionary work. The conservative interests at home judge that the recipients are gone a-whoring after strange gods. Again, human gregariousness may fill church and chapel more effectively than any need to worship or to be edified. Political unrest in the different race factors of an empire may cause re-distribution in religious profession, as we see in Austria. And religious "tests" calling for certificates or professions of faith before the means of livelihood are granted, may produce an appearance of religious unity that is anything but genuine.

To conclude this scanty glimpse at a great theme: Whether religion be a disintegrating or a consolidating force is no question that may be answered by a bare "Yea" or "Nay." Deeply as the religious instinct lies and stirs in the heart of man, it cannot find expression apart from his other instincts, however much it may and does serve as a cloak for them. And, accordingly, as these instincts make for social disintegration or solidarity, so will be the religious activity that is pressed into their service.

As the handmaid of theology, as the sanction of this or that social institution, as crystallised and formulated into a creed, or a sect within a creed, religion may become racialised. Thus narrowed, it will rather intensify the lines of cleavage between folk and folk, than bring them into closer intercourse.

But as an instinct, deep-rooted in the heart, religion transcends the barriers of race, in offering the bond of a common aspiration between individuals. And as the day of dogmas wears on to its long twilight, and the true inwardness of religion becomes acknowledged, we may come to invert the relation between religion, as pretext, and other motives calling themselves by its name. More and more shall

¹ G. Havelock Ellis, *Contemporary Review*, February, 1909, and C. Rhys Davids, *The Quest*, April, 1910.

we take other motives as pretext and expression, for the religious instinct, which is our being's noblest "creative impulse."¹ We shall come to suffer the radioactivity of each man's religion to work in the heart as a divine spring of action, and to take, *as its pretexts* all our aspirations for the general increase of health and knowledge of beauty and happiness.

But still will this inner spiritual fount ever make both for division and for consolidation. Men and women will, in obedience to it, meet ever more and more, as here and now, in amity and ordered effort after mutual understandings and progress in fraternity. Yet no less will the inward monitor bid this man or that woman cultivate selection and solitude; ever will it lead them now to come away and now to approach, as befits the true aristocrat of the Spirit; ever will it urge them now and again to flee alone to the Alone, to feed and recreate the vital spark of divine flame before the altar of the Ideal.

[Paper submitted in English.]

DIFFERENCES IN CUSTOMS AND MORALS, AND THEIR RESISTANCE TO RAPID CHANGE

By Professor GIUSEPPE SERGI, *Rome.*

(a) *Differences and Resistance.*—No one who has any knowledge of the social life of peoples, nations, and primitive tribes is ignorant of the existence among them of different customs and diverse forms of morals; it suffices to observe how individuals behave when acting collectively and how these groups behave when all act together, in order to see how very different are marriage and funeral rites, festivals and combats, religious services, respect for human life and property and the laws relating thereto, among the various groups of the human race. If we observe their moral codes and religions in their outward manifestations, we find a great difference and a profound separation between the larger no less than between the smaller groups of the human race.

A lengthy exposition of the facts is certainly not necessary to demonstrate such differences, falling as they do under general observation and being easily noticed in the relations which people maintain, or endeavour to maintain, with each other.

In Europe, except perhaps in the eastern part, great and small nations have now the tendency to approach each other in customs and manners. Facts and inventions which are employed in daily

¹ We refer to Bergson's term, *élan vital et créateur*.

life are easily communicated, imitated, introduced more or less rapidly into common usage, and are accepted without difficulty or resistance, often even with great satisfaction. In spite of this tendency, which is an effect of centuries of communication between European peoples, there exist, nevertheless, many different habits in modes of living, in the interpretation of morality, and in the religious character, although the dominant religion is Christianity. Hence we find differences, sometimes profound, in religious worship, in the character of religious rites, and in the conception of certain Christian principles, which form the common basis of very different practices.

But analogous differences, often differences of form and of outward appearance, are to be found in the different regions of one and the same nation. These differences are a record of the ancient separation and the characteristic survivals of each national fraction. It would be sufficient to give a mere list of the characteristic customs which persist unchanged and do not change in the historical nations of Europe ; in Italy, with its primitive division into regions ; in France ; in the British Isles ; and wherever facts are to be met with which have an intimate relation to moral conduct in its connection with outward religious forms. These facts reveal the great persistence of customs and their survival through all the vicissitudes of political changes.

The people who are furthest removed from certain customs that are universal at the present day in Europe are the inhabitants of Russia. Although the ideas and manners of Western Europe have penetrated into Russia and have been accepted and imitated by certain classes of society, among the enormous mass of the people nothing is changed. Hence it seems a living world entirely apart and self-sufficient, ignorant of what occurs outside its boundaries.

But the differences in customs and morals as well as in the prevailing religious sentiments are much more profound in Asia, where up to the present there has been immobility and little or no foreign penetration. Thibet is the most characteristic example of this, since having been completely closed to Europeans, it has come under no influence but that of the Chinese, and has accepted the religion of Buddha, of Indian origin. Political and social life, with its wholly theocratic character, is cut off from all communication with the world beyond and is inspired by a xenophobia, by which alone it can continue to preserve its characteristic forms. This people, therefore, isolated and defended by special geographical conditions, has acquired a peculiar character which shows an extraordinary persistence in the preservation of its customs.

China, an enormous agglomerate of peoples which have been distinct for many centuries, has succeeded in uniting these by internal evolution and by preventing all foreign penetration. It has

created a profound and characteristic civilisation, a great civilisation, existing for thousands of years, with forms peculiar to itself in language, in writing, in politics and in government, in religion (which is the cult of the dead), and in morals both philosophical (the work of a Sage) and popular. It has lived in its grandeur and isolation, cultivating a narrow xenophobia in order to retain its customs and to preserve its own civilisation, morals, and religion. Yet in spite of its isolation from the foreign element, the religion of Buddha and the Koran penetrated into China; but nothing further succeeded in penetrating until a short time ago.

However, we must not believe that the various peoples, who form this national unity in China, have lost their peculiar customs and their primitive ways; just as in all other peoples where new forms of morals and religions have penetrated and have imposed themselves, the ancient forms remain as survivals, persistent and resisting every change, as the new unites and mingles with the old; so it is easy in China to detect, together with Buddhism and Confucianism, the belief in spirits and other customs derived from the primitive ages of the various peoples.

Nor are conditions different in Japan, for the recent development of this great nation, if in part due to its Europeanisation in political and military matters, has not in the slightest degree destroyed its national customs, which are so very different from those of Europe. The people have remained steadfast and persistent in the ancient customs and ways which are peculiar to their country.

But the persistence and resistance to change are seen most clearly in morals and religion, which are usually closely related in a people. It is in this field that those who believe they are improving morals with the introduction of Christianity are accustomed to exercise their reforming influence. And they meet a resistance not only to rapid change, but even to slow and peaceable propaganda. This fact may be confirmed by examples taken from the patient work of religious missions in the midst of primitive peoples and civilised and semi-civilised nations. I may instance China and Japan, which resisted the introduction of Christianity for a long time, and still resist it vigorously. The fruits of the laborious propaganda are very rare, often entirely absent, and the work is barren of results. It is useless to deny this, when we know that the number of converts is extremely small in proportion to the population.

This resistance exists not only among peoples who are averse to new dogmas and new forms of morality, but also among those who direct the affairs of state, whether from sheer resistance or from a fear that other new changes may follow in the life of the state. To this we may trace xenophobia.

Moreover, the results of the conversions are ambiguous, because we do not know if the change in the converts be really genuine and complete, or merely superficial. Nor is the success deeper or more sincere among primitive tribes. We know only that resistance to the acceptance of new morals and a new religion is so strong as often to lead to bloodshed and revolt. History is full of such accounts.

(b) *Psychology of Resistance*.—In order to understand how this resistance to changes in customs and morals originated, I think it will be well to indicate briefly the psychological and social factors which determine this phenomenon.

The individual psychical state is of two forms: *static*, if we regard them as persisting ideas, or cognitions, acquired and accumulated; *dynamic*, if we refer to their active mobility. These two forms are not separable, except by analysis; they are closely connected in the sense that they may succeed each other, as in the passage from repose to motion and *vice versa*.

The cognitions acquired, which form the patrimony of the intelligence, remain in the static position, as unalterable forms of thought. They pass on to the dynamic state, when they are renewed, or incorporated in reasoning or in actions which serve for the conduct of life or for some other purpose. In this case an impulse is needed to determine the dynamic motion; and this impulse is sentiment in its various forms, so that this constitutes the dynamic motion, the driving force, as it were, towards an action.

This phenomenon is purely internal, individual and psychological, but it depends on other internal and outward factors, which act as forces of impulse or stimulation and as elements which promote the psychical life in the social state. Man does not live an individual life only, but also and principally a social one. An intimate reciprocal relation exists between man and society, and hence a current of action and reaction is formed which conduces to the inseparable union of the individual with his fellow-beings taken collectively. The inner psychological conditions of each individual are interwoven with the external social conditions and the former cannot subsist without the latter: the individual is, as it were, a member of the social body.

Further, every individual depends physically and psychologically on conditions that preceded his actual existence, namely, his ancestors and his family, from whom he receives by heredity and by communication peculiarities in his psychological as well as in his material life. These are factors which often escape observation and are neglected; but they are of great importance in the psychological condition of every one.

Here I must briefly enumerate such factors as enter into the

formation of the individual psychological state of man by their collective action. These are:—

Hereditary characteristics, physical and psychological, which appear as instincts.

Suggestion in all its forms, proceeding from family and social life.

Imitation, or the tendency to imitate unconsciously deeds and actions of the social community.

Educability and tendency to be moved by human influence.

Gregarious tendency, or a tendency to follow the paths traced by others in social conduct and to obey.

Sociability, a characteristic developed very early in man.

Now all these factors serve to form a psychological organism in individuals, which becomes the basis of all human life in so far as it manifests itself, in action and in thought. Habits are formed which are not only active forms, manifested in acts of conduct, but also static forms, that is, forms of thought to which dynamic forms of action correspond, because there is a co-relation established with the dominant sentiments developed in various ways. This whole psychological organism assumes the name and has the character of an *automatism*, which implies the complete adaptation, already established, of thoughts or cognitions to sentiments and impulses in thought and action.

Automatism is useful in human life. When formed, it eliminates all effort in acts and movements with reference to conduct because it becomes the natural course and runs more smoothly than thought or action, and because it maintains the continuity of our action with surprising uniformity. What we may term psychical *inertia* then establishes itself. This is altogether similar to physical inertia, and consists in the persistence of one and the same psychological state until a superior force succeeds in changing it, establishing a new state different from the former.

The very brief exposition I have given of the psychological organism in its formation and in its inner and social factors, of the final state which I have termed psychical *inertia*, gives us the explanation of the manner in which habits and customs are formed, and shows how moral conduct, connected with sentiments and acts of religious feeling, become one and the same with customs, and derive from them a power of resistance to changes.

If resistance be great in individuals taken separately, it becomes much greater in a group taken collectively. The reason of this being that the psychological organism and psychical inertia are already formed, since in the social mass there is a multiplication

of resistance ; and if we compare in psychical phenomena individual resistance to collective, we may say that the latter amounts to the square of the mass of which the human group is composed.

(c) *Practical Conclusions.*—What should be the attitude of one nation to another or towards other peoples with which it has relations, in regard to diversity of customs, morals, and religion ?

The reply which presents itself immediately to us is, not to attempt any change and to respect the existing usages together with the sentiments which accompany them, because one runs the risk, from the resistance which is made to changing the manner of living, of disturbing good international relations, of inciting revolt, bloodshed, and war.

But this very general reply allows of modifications according to the character of the relations existing between different peoples and nations and according to the conditions of intellectual development and civilisation of the populations we are dealing with. The relations may be solely commercial, and then there is no need surely for foreign nations to introduce new customs. They may be political, due to alliance, and in this case no more than in the first should one attempt to change the forms of social life and the sentiments of the allied nations, unless it were to render them more friendly and more sincere for mutual benefit. The possibility of change one must leave to time, to new needs, to utility, and also to imitation which is so ingrained in man.

But if there be barbarous customs among these nations, of a deeply rooted character and repugnant to the sentiment of humanity, should one use influence to change them ? I believe so, but slowly, by example and persuasion which penetrate into the minds of the people and develop new sentiments and new habits. In doing this one should not insist in a direct manner ; nor under this pretext should one also change religious forms and sentiments also—the most profound in the human soul and the most resisting ; nor under the pretext that one religion is more moral or more civilising than another. The history of the relations between different peoples shows clearly that this attempt has led to many revolutions, manifestations of hatred towards foreigners, and, in extreme cases, even wars.

Among savage tribes, such as are found in Africa and Oceania, no violence should be used in order to change their customs or to Christianise them. Introduce useful arts and crafts ; humane forms of living ; respect for human life by beginning to respect it, not as some Europeans do, who, thirsting for gain and gold, ill-treat the natives, respecting neither their lives, their property, nor their families, and yet claim the respect and obedience of these same tribes.

Under a protectorate, respect for the customs of the populations should be the same as that which should exist between friendly nations, were it only in order not to provoke resentment, rebellions, and wars. If the protecting Power possess sentiments of humanity and act in a humane manner towards the people protected, new customs may be introduced by example only, by showing the immediate usefulness of such customs, but never by violence.

Man should feel sympathy for every one inhabiting our planet, who, created like himself, is a living being with the same right to existence and to the preservation of life.

Sympathy, the most extended and most general sentiment of human nature, produces in its action the most beneficent effects and wards off the dangers of a struggle which would often be both useless and cruel. Human sympathy demands respect for the sentiments and customs of every people, as being the expression of a social life and an organisation dating from time immemorial.

[Paper submitted in English.]

ON THE PERMANENCE OF RACIAL MENTAL DIFFERENCES

By CHARLES S. MYERS, M.A., M.D., Sc.D.,

Lecturer in Experimental Psychology in the University of Cambridge.

I WISH to lay before the members of this Congress the four following propositions for their consideration :—

- I. That the mental characters of the majority of the peasant class throughout Europe are essentially the same as those of primitive communities.
- II. That such differences between them as exist are the result of differences in environment and in individual variability.
- III. That the relation between the organism and its environment (considered in its broadest sense) is the ultimate cause of variation, bodily and mental.
- IV. That this being admitted, the possibility of the progressive development of all primitive peoples must be conceded, if only the environment can be appropriately changed.

The first of these propositions I deliberately put forward as the outcome of a year's experience in the Torres Straits and Borneo, and a somewhat longer stay in Egypt and the Sudan. I had the good fortune to visit the Torres Straits and Borneo as a member of the

Cambridge Anthropological Expedition under Dr. Haddon's leadership, and there I was principally occupied with Dr. Rivers and Mr. McDougall in investigating the mental characters of primitive peoples; while in Egypt and in the Sudan I had abundant opportunities for making similar but *less* systematic studies.

The results of the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits have shown that in acuteness of vision, hearing, smell, &c., these peoples are not noticeably different from our own. We conclude that the remarkable tales adduced to the contrary by various travellers are to be explained, not by the acuteness of sensation, but by the acuteness of interpretation of primitive peoples. Take the savage into the streets of a busy city, and see what a number of sights and sounds he will neglect because of their meaninglessness to him. Take the sailor whose powers of discerning a ship on the horizon appear to the landsman so extraordinary, and set him to detect micro-organisms in the field of a microscope. Is it then surprising that primitive man should be able to draw inferences, which to the stranger appear marvellous, from the merest specks in the far distance or from the faintest sounds, odours, or tracks in the jungle? Such behaviour serves only to attest the extraordinary powers of observation in primitive man with respect to things which are of use and hence of interest to him. The same powers are shown in the vast number of words he will coin to denote the same object, say a certain tree at different stages of its growth.

We conclude, then, that no fundamental difference in powers of sensory acuity, nor, indeed, in sensory discrimination, exists between primitive and civilised communities. Further, there is no proof of any difference in memory between them, save, perhaps, in a greater tendency for primitive folk to use and to excel in mere mechanical learning, in preference to rational learning. But this surely is also the characteristic of the European peasant. He will never commit things to memory by thinking of their meaning, if he can learn them by rote.

In temperament we meet with just the same variations in primitive as in civilised communities. In every primitive society is to be found the flighty, the staid, the energetic, the indolent, the cheerful, the morose, the even-, the hot-tempered, the unthinking, the philosophical individual. At the same time, the average differences between different primitive peoples are as striking as those, say, between the average German and the average Italian.

It is a common but manifest error to suppose that primitive man is distinguished from the civilised peasant in that he is freer and that his conduct is less under control. On the contrary, the savage is probably far more hide-bound than we are by social regulations.

His life is one round of adherence to the demands of custom. For instance, he may be compelled even to hand over his own children at their birth to others; he may be prohibited from speaking to certain of his relatives; his choice of a wife may be very strictly limited by traditional laws; at every turn there are ceremonies to be performed and presents to be made by him so that misfortune may be safely averted. As to the control which primitive folk exercise over their conduct, this varies enormously among different peoples; but if desired, I could bring many instances of self-control before you which would put to shame the members even of our most civilised communities.

Now since in all these various mental characters no appreciable difference exists between primitive and advanced communities, the question arises, what is the most important difference between them? I shall be told—in the capacity for logical and abstract thought. But by how much logical and abstract thought is the European peasant superior to his primitive brother? Study our country folklore, study the actual practices in regard to healing and religion which prevail in every European peasant community to-day, and what essential differences are discoverable? Of course, it will be urged that these practices are continued unthinkingly, that they are merely vestiges of a period when once they were believed and were full of meaning. But this, I am convinced, is far from being generally true, and it also certainly applies to many of the ceremonies and customs of primitive peoples.

It will be said that although the European peasant may not in the main think more logically and abstractly, he has, nevertheless, the potentiality for such thought, should only the conditions for its manifestations—education and the like—ever be given. From such as he have been produced the geniuses of Europe—the long line of artists and inventors who have risen from the lowest ranks.

I will consider this objection later. At present it is sufficient for my purpose to have secured the admission that the peasants of Europe do not as a whole use their mental powers in a much more logical or abstract manner than do primitive people. I maintain that such superiority as they have is due to differences (1) of environment, and (2) of variability.

We must remember that the European peasant grows up in a (more or less) civilised environment; he learns a (more or less) well-developed and written language, which serves as an easier instrument and a stronger inducement for abstract thought; he is born into a (more or less) advanced religion. All these advantages and the advantages of a more complex education the European peasant owes to his superiors in ability and civilisation. Rob the peasant

of these opportunities, plunge him into the social environment of present primitive man, and what difference in thinking power will be left between them?

The answer to this question brings me to the second point of difference which I have mentioned—difference in variability. I have already alluded to the divergencies in temperament to be found among the members of every primitive community. But well marked as are these and other individual differences, I suspect that they are less prominent among primitive than among more advanced peoples. This difference in variability, if really existent, is probably the outcome of more frequent racial admixture and more complex social environment in civilised communities. In another sense, the variability of the savage is indicated by the comparative data afforded by certain psychological investigations. A civilised community may not differ much from a primitive one in the mean or average of a given character, but the extreme deviations which it shows from that mean will be more numerous and more pronounced. This kind of variability has probably another source. The members of a primitive community behave towards the applied test in the simplest manner, by the use of a mental process which we will call A, whereas those of a more advanced civilisation employ other mental processes, in addition to A, say B, C, D or E, each individual using them in differing degrees for the performance of one and the same test. Finally there is in all likelihood a third kind of variability, whose origin is ultimately environmental, which is manifested by extremes of nervous instability. Probably the exceptionally defective and the exceptional genius are more common among civilised than among primitive peoples.

Similar features undoubtedly meet us in the study of sexual differences. The average results of various tests of mental ability applied to men and women are not, on the whole, very different for the two sexes, but the men always show considerably greater individual variation than the women. And here, at all events, the relation between the frequency of mental deficiency and genius in the two sexes is unquestionable. Our asylums contain a considerably greater number of males than of females, as a compensation for which, genius is decidedly less frequent in females than in males.

This brings me to the difficult problem of the effect of environment. For it will be urged that these and other sexual mental differences are mainly the result of past ages of different environment. I shall be asked to consider the undoubted increase in stature among women, which has followed from their modern training in athletics. Stature is admittedly one of the most easily modified physical characters, but may it not be that the present sexual mental

differences would similarly dwindle and perhaps finally disappear with a gradual equalisation of the environment to which man and woman are exposed?

This is, indeed, a hard question to decide. Who knows the degree of mental power to which any community might attain if only the environment could be appropriately modified? Who could have foreseen the powers of discrimination which practice develops in the wine-expert or the tea-taster? With what surprise do we learn that the children of Murray Island, taught at the present day by a Scotsman, are judged by him to be superior in arithmetical ability to those of an average British school, despite the fact that their parents' language contained words for one and two only, and expressed three by one-two, and four by two-two! Who knows what mental powers may be dormant even in primitive communities, ready to burst into full flower as soon as the environment becomes appropriate?

Against this point of view must be set another. For aught we know to the contrary, the essential functions of womanhood may be the determinants not only of their special sexual physical features but also of a greater uniformity of mental character. So, too, the particular environment in which the colour and physique of the negro have been evolved may have induced a still more uniform mediocrity of mental ability. Or there may be some *direct* but obscure correlation between rareness or absence of genius and insanity, on the one hand, and the feminine or negro physical form, on the other. Certainly there is not an instance of first-class musical genius, by which, of course, I mean originality in musical composition, among European women, despite centuries of opportunity. And so, too, there is not an instance of first-class genius in a pure-blooded American negro, despite the numbers of them who receive a university training in the United States. It is true that their adopted environment—social status and climate, in particular—have to be taken into account. We well know the type of individual which contempt and persecution produce; but these influences are surely limited to the moral, and hardly affect the intellectual, development of the individual. We have also to bear in mind the paucity of genius among the white population of the really southern States.

All recent work goes to show that the influence of environment on biological characters is far more potent and direct than has hitherto been supposed. In organic growth and development a state of equilibrium has to be maintained, and if the internal or external conditions affecting the organism are changed, its unit-characters must alter, either by analytic or synthetic change. If they do not alter, or if the alteration is not a suitable one, the organism is no

longer adapted to the environment, and sooner or later (it may be immediately or in the first, second, or third generation) must perish.

Whether or not the variations thus produced are dependent on such deeply ingrained internal conditions that they are inherited despite subsequent further changes in outward environment is for our present purpose of little concern. It is sufficient to have secured the admission that variations only occur when there is a disturbance in the usual course of equilibrium between the growing organism and the internal and external conditions to which it is exposed. The sum total of the internal and external conditions is the environment. Through such disturbances the different races of mankind have been evolved. By fresh appropriate disturbances they are being modified to-day, and will be modified in the future. When the conditions are too sudden, the race dies out. I have no intention here of discussing to what extent, if at all, the modifications in external conditions are immediately or ultimately inherited. This, it appears to me, does not affect the truth of my fourth proposition, that if only the environment can be gradually changed, perhaps with sufficient slowness and certainly in the appropriate direction, both the mental and the physical characters of the lowest races may ultimately attain those of the highest, and *vice versa*. If we assume, as I think we must assume, that the white and negro races owe their respective characters ultimately to their environment, there is no *à priori* reason, it seems to me, for denying the possibility of a reversal of their differences, if the environment to which they are respectively exposed be gradually, in the course of many hundreds of thousands of years, reversed.

Since writing this paper, I have read the very interesting and important work entitled *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, which has recently been written by Professor Lévy-Bruhl. In this book he takes up an attitude that differs in some respects diametrically from mine. He shows how often and widely anthropologists have erred by endeavouring to explain the mentality of primitive peoples in terms of our own advanced mentality. With this I am in complete agreement. Primitive man does not regard the world just as we, educated members of a highly complex civilisation, come to regard it. But when Professor Lévy-Bruhl goes on to affirm that there are important differences between the least cultured members (the peasant class) of European communities on the one hand, and primitive peoples on the other, there I part company with him. I am inclined to admit the "mystic" and "pre-logical" tendencies which he ascribes to primitive mentality, although I think that he has grossly exaggerated their importance at the present day, and has not sufficiently distinguished the very different stages of mental development to which various primitive peoples have now attained. I recognise fully the force of what he calls "collective representations"—the outcome of social tradition and organisation. Indeed I am disposed to attribute rather to the force of social tradition than to a pre-logical condition of the primitive mind the illogical and mutually contradictory beliefs which are held by the savage at the present day. There is not a savage who cannot talk logically about matters of everyday life. He *can* reason as we do. He *will* not, where the force of social tradition is so strong,

where the contradictory beliefs which he holds are so unquestionable that they can never be allowed to appear incompatible. I am willing to admit the possibility that primitive peoples may be found whose mental peculiarities are as extreme as those which he insists on. But such cases, if they occur, are exceptional, and we have throughout to bear in mind the danger of deducing the mental attitude of a people from the customs, ceremonies, and general behaviour described to us by travellers and missionaries. Into what error would a people far more cultured than we are fall, if they deduced our own mentality from the social and religious institutions which they observed among us, or from the statements made by one or two selected individuals in our midst!

My remarks refer to the peasants of Europe taken as a whole, and to the inhabitants of primitive countries taken as a whole, and contrary to Professor Lévy-Bruhl I insist that there is no essential mental difference between them. We have in each the same native disinclination for logical thinking, especially where the forces of tradition—or, in the terminology of the French Anthropological School, collective representations—are antagonistic to it. In each we see the same readiness to accept statements which are utterly contradictory, the same faint line of demarcation between the natural and the supernatural. Professor Lévy-Bruhl alludes (p. 448) to the "frightful rubbish" contained in the innumerable encyclopedias of the Chinese on astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology, &c. How is it, he asks, that so many centuries of application and ingenuity have resulted in nothing? He answers, chiefly because each of these so-called sciences was faced at its beginning with certain crystallised ideas which no one ever dreamed of putting sincerely to the test of experiment. Quite so, but precisely the same "rubbish" is to be found in European scientific works, on alchemy and natural history, for example, during the Middle Ages. Until comparatively recently, the same "vague representations," the same "mystic pre-connexions," as M. Lévy-Bruhl terms them, reigned even in the highest European culture as they still reign in the Chinese.

Again, he says (p. 426) that "the mentality of primitive man does more than represent to itself its object: it possesses it or is possessed by it. It holds communion with it. . . . It lives it. The ceremonies and rites lead in a great number of cases to the realisation of a grand symbiosis, *e.g.*, between the totemic group and its totem." In his view (p. 427) this form of mental activity is, "radically different from what our own society affords us opportunity for studying." Here, again, is surely a manifest error. This symbiosis, the unity between man and God, this Communion—what is it but the highest development of the mystical element in the most advanced religions?

Thus I find nothing in this highly interesting, in many ways psychologically valuable, work to induce me to change the propositions which I maintain and have introduced for your consideration to-day.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE INTELLECTUAL STANDING OF DIFFERENT RACES AND THEIR RESPECTIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CULTURE

By JOHN GRAY, B.Sc., A.R.S.M., F.R.A.I., *London.*

THE aim of this paper is to discuss the possibility of arriving at some numerical evaluation of the Intellectual Standing and Respec-

tive Opportunities for culture of a population, and to apply the method to the leading Races and great Nations of mankind.

Such evaluations, even though, at the first attempt, they may not have a very high degree of precision, are much to be preferred to the general impressions with which the essayists who have written on this subject have hitherto been content. The widely differing conclusions of the authors of books on such questions as the relations of the coloured and white races illustrate the danger of relying on general impressions.

There are several methods by which we may arrive at an estimate of the average intellectual standing of a population. Without attempting an exact definition of intelligence, it may be assumed that this mental character is possessed in the highest degree by the leaders of the people. If we could obtain statistics of the number of men per unit of the population who, in each country, had risen above a fixed standard of eminence in literature, science, politics, war, engineering, &c., we could from these data obtain very good numerical values of the intellectual standing of the different peoples. But such statistics could be obtained for only a very few of the most advanced and highly organised nations.

I have found it most convenient to make use of educational statistics.

Education, in the school and universities of a country, may be regarded as the means employed to develop to the highest practical limit the natural intellectual capacity of the people.

The number of pupils and students per unit of the population may be regarded as an approximate measure of the *Opportunities for Culture* offered to the people.

The number of university students per unit of the population is taken as a measure of the average *Intellectual Standing* of the people. The justification for this is that the majority of the leaders of a people come from its universities, and the average standard of intelligence required of the university student is much the same in all countries where universities exist. The few exceptions will be indicated in dealing with the values obtained.

Having indicated methods of obtaining, from educational statistics, numerical values, of (1) the Intellectual Standing, and (2) the Opportunities for Culture, it now only remains to find a method of calculating the *Natural Capacity*.

The Intellectual Standing of a people may be regarded as the product of two factors, namely, its opportunity for culture and its natural capacity to acquire culture. If there is no opportunity for culture there will be no culture, however high the natural capacity may be. As we have taken intelligence to be represented by the

degree of culture acquired in the schools, it follows, and it is self-evident, that there would be no intelligence (in this case) in a country if there were no schools. On the other hand, how ever many free schools there might be in a country, there would be no intelligence of the kind acquired in schools if there were no natural capacity in the people to acquire it. The usual condition of things is that a certain percentage of the population has the capacity to acquire the highest intelligence the schools are capable of developing. We may assume therefore that the following formula is at least approximately true:—

Intellectual Standing = Opportunity for Culture multiplied by Natural Capacity, and it follows from this, that—

$$\text{Natural Capacity} = \frac{\text{Intellectual Standing}}{\text{Opportunity for Culture}}$$

Intellectual Standing and Opportunity for Culture can be calculated, as has been shown above, from educational statistics. Natural Capacity is equal to or proportional to the former divided by the latter.

This method of measuring natural capacity may be looked at from another point of view.

A certain fraction of the crew of every battleship is trained to shoot. Let us suppose that in one ship 10 per cent. attain the highest standard of marksmanship, and in another 20 per cent. We may say that the natural capacity of marksmanship of the second crew is double that of the first, because the opportunities of all to become first-class marksmen are equal. Natural Capacity may therefore also be measured by the percentage of all persons receiving equal training, who attain the highest standard. This second definition will be found to be equivalent to that given above, *i.e.*, we may evaluate the Natural Capacity of a race for intellectual acquirement either by dividing the Intellectual Standing by the Opportunity for Culture, or by dividing the number of university students by the total number of pupils and students in all the schools of the country.

It is necessary to add that the divisions of the scales of Intellectual Standing and Natural Capacity obtained in this way would probably not be equal. To reduce this scale to one of equal divisions we should have to assume some probable law of the distribution of the frequency of individual deviations from the average of each group. The most probable distribution is that known to statisticians as the normal curve. In the series which follow I have appended values corrected on this assumption.

In the first series I have arranged the Nations and Races for which I have been able to obtain adequate statistics in the order of their Intellectual Standing calculated in the manner stated above.

Column I. gives the number of university students per 100,000 of the population; column II. gives corrected values, in a scale of equal divisions, showing how far the average of the whole population is below the university standard; column III. gives the differences between each pair of adjacent values.

ORDER OF INTELLECTUAL STANDING.

	I.	II.	III.		I.	II.	III.
1. United States ...	279'9	2'77		13. Finland ...	70'3	3'19	
			'10				'00
2. Switzerland ...	200'8	2'87		14. Sweden ...	70'0	3'19	
			'04				'01
3. Scotland ...	178'7	2'91		15. Italy ...	68'7	3'20	
			'16				'02
4. France ...	106'7	3'07		16. Belgium ...	64'8	3'22	
			'02				'01
5. Wales ...	100'2	3'09		17. Holland ...	62'7	3'23	
			'04				'00
6. British Isles ...	86'2	3'13		18. Japan ...	62'3	3'23	
			'01				'05
7. Spain ...	85'9	3'14		19. Hungary ...	50'3	3'28	
			'01				'04
8. Austria ...	82'7	3'15		20. Negroes, U.S.A.	45'5	3'32	
			'02				'08
9. Germany ...	76'6	3'17		21. Mexico ...	33'1	3'40	
			'00				'10
10. England ...	73'5	3'17		22. Portugal ...	23'3	3'50	
			'01				'01
11. Ireland ...	73'1	3'18		23. Russia ...	22'1	3'51	
			'01				'20
12. Norway ...	70'7	3'19		24. India ...	10'4	3'71	
			'00				

The total difference between the highest and the lowest in the above series is '94, the average difference between two adjacent nations being '04. By comparing this with the actual differences in column III. it will be readily seen where steps in the series are higher or lower than the average.

It must not be forgotten that low intellectual standing may be due to the lack of opportunity, and if this opportunity is very bad it may even be associated with high Natural Capacity.

It may be noted that the widest gaps in this series are between the United States and Switzerland, between Scotland and France, between Mexico and Portugal, and between Russia and India.

At the same time it is interesting to note that nations that are closely associated physically, historically, and geographically come close together in the series. Thus we have Austria, Germany, England, Ireland, Norway, Finland, and Sweden immediately following each other in the series; also Belgium and Holland come

together, and Russia and India. Geographical contiguity usually implies a certain similarity in the opportunities for education and often also implies that the peoples are of the same physical type.

We shall next give the order of the nations when the effect of difference of opportunity has been eliminated, namely, the order of Natural Capacity.

In this series column I. gives the number of university students per 10,000 of all pupils and students in the country, column II. gives the corrected values on a scale of equal divisions, and column III. gives the differences between each pair of adjacent corrected values.

ORDER OF NATURAL CAPACITY.

	I.	II.	III.		I.	II.	III.
1. United States	110·2	2·29		13. Sweden ...	47·3	2·59	·01
2. Switzerland	100·9	2·32	·03	14. British Isles ...	47·2	2·60	·00
3. Finland ...	93·7	2·35	·06	15. Austria ...	46·7	2·60	·00
4. Scotland	80·1	2·41	·03	16. India ...	46·7	2·60	·00
5. France ...	72·6	2·44	·01	17. Ireland ...	46·5	2·60	·03
6. Mexico ...	72·0	2·45	·01	18. England ...	42·2	2·63	·01
7. Portugal	69·9	2·46	·01	19. Norway ...	41·3	2·64	·03
8. Spain ...	67·6	2·47	·01	20. Wales ...	38·2	2·67	·03
9. Italy ...	66·1	2·48	·06	21. Holland ...	34·6	2·70	·02
10. Russia ...	55·3	2·54	·02	22. Hungary ...	32·7	2·72	·03
11. Japan ...	52·8	2·56	·03	23. Belgium ...	30·0	2·75	·06
12. Germany	47·5	2·59	·00	24. Negroes, U.S.A.	24·6	2·81	

The total difference between the highest and the lowest is ·52; the average difference between two adjacent nations being ·02. The greatest differences are between Finland and Scotland, and between Belgium and the coloured population of the U.S.A.

The United States, as in the Intellectual Standing series, comes at the top of the list. This pre-eminent position must be somewhat reduced, if the average standing of the university student is lower in America than in European universities. There is some reason for supposing that this is the case. The same remark applies to Spain, in which the low average standard of university education is notorious. Switzerland probably occupies an unduly high position in the series

owing to the presence of a considerable percentage of foreign students at her universities. This applies also to a certain extent to France, Germany, and Scotland. Again, it will be observed that nations having similar racial elements, such as Spain and Italy (of the Mediterranean race), Germany, Sweden, British Isles (all having a large Teutonic element), are close together.

It is interesting to note that the difference between the average natural capacity of the negroes and that of the whites in the United States is twenty-three times as much as the average distance between two adjacent nations in series. The actual intellectual standing of the negro is, however, much higher, being twentieth in the first series as compared with twenty-fourth in the second series. This shows the benefit he has received from growing up in the educational environment created by the white race among whom he lives. The fact that the intellectual standing of the negroes in America has benefited so much by the educational opportunities which have been created for them by the whites, and which, judging from what we know of them in their native Africa, they were incapable of creating for themselves, appears hardly to have been realised by M. Finot when he says of the negroes, "that in fifty years they have realised the progress which has necessitated for many white races, five or six centuries." *

ORDER OF OPPORTUNITY.

	I.	II.		I.	II.
1. Wales ...	262		13. Ireland	157	70.6
2. United States	254	89.3	14. Hungary	154	49
3. Scotland ...	223		15. Sweden	148	
4. Belgium ...	216	78	16. France	147	
5. Switzerland ...	199		17. Spain ...	127	28.5
6. Negroes, U.S.A.	185	55.5	18. Japan ...	118	95
7. British Isles ...	182		19. Italy ...	104	51.6
8. Holland ...	181	98	20. Finland	75	
9. England ...	178	99	21. Mexico	47	
10. Austria ...	177	61	22. Russia	40	22.1
11. Norway ...	171		23. Portugal	33	23.3
12. Germany ...	162	99	24. India ...	22	5.3

Column I. gives the total number of pupils and students per 1,000 of the population in all the schools and universities of the country. Column II. gives (where known) the Literacy—that is, the percentage—of the population (excluding those below school age) who can read and write.

The series showing the order of Opportunity is interesting as showing the great variation of this among the various nations in our list. In Wales, United States, and Scotland more than ten times the

* Finot, "Le Préjugé des Races," p. 498.

number of children per 1,000 of the population are at school than in India. As India stands fairly high in the list for Natural Capacity no one can doubt that by neglecting the education of India our authorities are allowing a vast amount of natural ability to run to waste which might be utilised to add to the wealth and strength of the empire. In Russia, owing partly to the vast and still imperfectly absorbed population of its Asiatic empire, the opportunity for education is excessively low. For Portugal, however, which is even lower than Russia, there is no corresponding excuse.

A deficiency in Natural Capacity is often compensated by a highly efficient system of education, as may be readily seen by comparing the three series given above.

Many important Nations and Races have not been dealt with in this paper owing to the fact that no adequate statistics could be obtained. In the case of China, for example, education in the modern sense is only just being introduced. There are said to be 20,000 Chinese at foreign schools and universities, and the distinctions obtained by these students would lead us to suspect that the Natural Capacity of the Chinese is very high and only requires an efficient educational system to enable the Chinese to take a very high place in the scale of the Intellectual Standing of the Races of mankind. Turkey is another country where the opportunity for education is at a very low ebb. A university was nominally founded at Constantinople in 1900, but it has never got beyond the paper stage.

The Negro in Africa has had little opportunity for education compared with those in America and in British possessions. For example, in the Gold Coast only 8 per 1,000 are at school; in Lagos 1 per 1,000. In Sierra Leone things are apparently much better, as we find 103 per 1,000 at school. In Basutoland there are 38 per 1,000 at school. The Negro in Africa does not appear to be able to rise beyond the standard of elementary education, several attempts to impart secondary education having failed. Great success has, however, been achieved with industrial education of the Negro both in Africa and in America.

This essay being a first attempt to apply measurement to such important qualities of man and his environment as Intellectual Standing, Natural Capacity and Opportunity is necessarily somewhat crude, but I believe that it is only along these lines that social reformers are likely ever to arrive at any agreement as to the true relations subsisting between the various races of mankind, and till this is settled all attempts to place those relations on a satisfactory footing will be very much retarded.

[Paper submitted in English.]

Tu as bien voulu partager mon indigence, et m'aider par ton travail,
 Que ne dois-je pas faire pour illustrer nos noms par mon savoir,
 Et te rendre en gloire tes bons exemples et tes bienfaits ?
 Mon respect, ma tendresse, te l'ont dit tous les jours !"¹

Is it not true that one genuine utterance from the heart of a people is testimony that outweighs a whole volume of opinions, however honest, about them? The historical process, as manifested in different countries, may have led to the selection of various ideals as motives of organisation, but an open examination of data will make us very doubtful of statements that would deny to any nationality a given height of spirituality or refinement.

Classification.—The first point to be determined in dealing with the proper subject of this paper, the present position of the civilised woman, is the principle of classification to be followed. We might divide women into Asiatic and European; but, if so, the American woman must be taken as European *par excellence*. And where must we place the woman of Japan? The terms Eastern and Western are too vague, and modern and mediæval too inexact. Nor can we afford to discard half of each of these generalisations and classify woman as, on the one hand, Western—whether Norse, Teuton, Slav, or Latin—and on the other Mongolian, Hindu, or Mussulman. Such a system of reference would be too cumbersome. Perhaps the only true classification is based on ideals, and if so, we might divide human society, in so far as woman is concerned, into communities dominated by the civic, and communities dominated by the family, ideal.

The Civic Ideal.—Under the civic ideal—imperfectly as particular women may feel that this has yet been realised—both men and women tend to be recognised as individuals, holding definite relations to each other in the public economy, and by their own free will co-operating to build up the family. The *civitas* tends to ignore the family, save as a result, like any other form of productive co-operation, and in its fullest development may perhaps come to ignore sex. In America, for instance, both men and women are known as "citizens." No one asks, "Are you a *native*, or a *subject*, of America?" but always "Are you an American *citizen*?" The contemporary struggle of the Englishwoman for the rudiments of political equality with men is but a single step in the long process of woman's civic evolution. It is significant of her conscious acceptance of the civic ideal as her goal. The arrival of this moment is undoubtedly hastened by the very marked tendency of modern nations towards the economic independence of woman; and this process, again, though born of the industrial transformation from

¹ Paris, Sandoz et Frischbacher, 1876.

manual to mechanical, or mediæval to modern, is indirectly accelerated, amongst imperial and colonising peoples, by the gravitation of the men of the ruling classes towards the geographical confines of their racial or political area. One factor, amongst the many thus brought into play, is the impracticability of the family as their main career for some of the most vigorous and intelligent of women. These are thrown back upon the *civitas* for the theatre of their activities and the material of their mental and emotional development. Such conditions are much in evidence in the England of to-day, and must have been hardly less so in Imperial Rome. Nero's assassination of his mother might conceivably be treated as the Roman form of denial of the suffrage to women.

Regarding the civic evolution of woman as a process, it is easy to see that it will always take place most rapidly in those communities and at those epochs when political or industrial transformation, or both, are most energetic and individuating. The guiding and restraining influences which give final shape to the results achieved are always derived from the historical fund of ideals and institutions, social, æsthetic, and spiritual. It is here that we shall derive most advantage from remembering the very relative and approximate character of the differentiation of ideals. The more extended our sympathies, the more enlarged becomes the area of precedent. If the Anglo-Saxon woman, rebelling in England, or organising herself into great municipal leagues in America, appears at the moment to lead the world in the struggle for the concession of full civic responsibility, we must not forget the brilliance of the part played by women in the national history of France. Nor must we forget the mediæval Church, that extraordinary creation of the Latin peoples, which, as a sort of *civitas* of the soul, offered an organised super-domestic career to woman throughout the Middle Ages, and will probably still continue, as a fund of inspiration and experience, to play an immense part even in her future. Nor must we forget that Finland has outstripped even the English-speaking nations. Nor can we, in this connection, permit ourselves to overlook the womanhood of the East. The importance of woman in the dynastic history of China, for example, during the last four thousand years, would of itself remind us that, though the family may dominate the life of the Chinese woman, yet she is not absolutely excluded from the civic career. Again, the noble protest of his inferior wife, Tchong-tse, to the Emperor in 556 B.C., against the nomination of her own son as heir to the throne, shows that moral development has been known in that country to go hand in hand with opportunity. "Such a step," she says, "would indeed gratify my affection, but it would be contrary to the laws. Think and act as a prince, and not as a father."

This is an utterance which all will agree, for its civic virtue and sound political sense, to have been worthy of any matron of Imperial Rome.

But it is not China alone, in the East, that can furnish evidence to the point. In India, also, women have held power, from time to time, as rulers and administrators, often with memorable success. And it is difficult to believe that a similar statement might not be made of Mohammedanism. There is at least one Indo-Mussulman throne, that of Bhopal, which is generally held by a woman. Perhaps enough has been said to emphasise the point that while the evolution of her civic personality is at present the characteristic fact in the position of the Western woman, the East also has power, in virtue of her history and experience, to contribute to the working-out of this ideal. To deny this would be as ignorantly unjust as to pretend that Western women had never achieved greatness by their fidelity, tenderness, and other virtues of the family. The antithesis merely implies that in each case the mass of social institutions is more or less attuned to the dominant conception of the goal, while its fellow is present, but in a phase relatively subordinate, or perhaps even incipient.

The civic life, then, is that which pertains to the community as a whole, that community—whether of nation, province, or township—whose unity transcends and ignores that of the family, reckoning its own active elements, men or women as the case may be, as individuals only. Of this type of social organisation public spirit is the distinctive virtue; determined invasion of the freedom or welfare of the whole, in the interest of special classes or individuals, the distinctive sin. The civic spirit embodies the personal and categorical form of such ideals as those of national unity or corporate independence. Its creative bond is that of place, the common home—as distinguished from blood, the common kin—that common home whose children are knit together to make the *civitas*, the civic family, rising in its largest complexity to be the national family.

The characteristic test of moral dignity and maturity which our age offers to the individual is this of his or her participation in civic wisdom and responsibility. Our patriotism may vary from jingoism to the narrowest parochialism, but the demand for patriotism, in some form or other, we all acknowledge to be just. Different countries have their various difficulties in civic evolution, and these are apt to bear harder on that of the woman than of the man. The study of woman in America, where society has been budded, so to speak, from older growths and started anew, with the modern phase, in a virgin soil, is full of illustrations. It would be a mistake to attribute the regrettable tendency towards disintegration of the family, which we

are undeniably witnessing in that country to-day, to any ardour in the pursuit of civic ideals. High moral aims are almost always mutually coherent. Weakening of family ties will not go hand in hand, in a modern community, with growth of civic integrity. Both the progressive idea of the *civitas* and the conservative idea of the family are apt to suffer at once from that assumption of the right to enjoyment which is so characteristic of the new land, with its vast natural resources still imperfectly exploited. Various American States exhibit a wide range of institutions, domestic and political. Some have long conceded the right of female suffrage, while in others the dissolution of marriage is notoriously frivolous. But we may take it as an axiom that the ethics of *civitas* and of family, so far as woman is concerned, are never really defiant of each other; that neither battens on the decay of its fellow, but that both alike suffer from the invasions of selfishness, luxury, and extravagance; while both are equally energised by all that tends to the growth of womanly honour and responsibility in either field. Even that movement, of largely American and feminist origin, which we may well refer to as the New Monasticism—the movement of social observation and social service, finding its blossom in university settlements and Hull Houses—is permeated through and through with the modern, and above all with the American, unsuspiciousness of pleasure. It is essentially an Epicurean movement—always remembering, as did Epicurus, that the higher pleasures of humanity include pain—not only in the effort it makes to brighten and enliven poverty and toil, but also in the delicate and determined gaiety of spirit of those engaged in it, who have never been heard to admit that the hair-shirt of social service, with all its anxiety and labour, affords them anything but the keenest of delight to don.

The Family Ideal.—The society of the East, and therefore necessarily its womanhood, has moulded itself from time immemorial on the central ideal of the family. In no Eastern country, it may be broadly said—the positive spirit of China and the inter-tribal unity of Islam to the contrary notwithstanding—has the civic concept ever risen into that clearness and authority which it holds in the modern West. As a slight illustration of this, we have the interesting question of the sources amongst different peoples of their titles of honour. In China, we are told, all terms of courtesy are derived from family relationships. The same statement is true of India, but perhaps to a less extent; for there a certain number of titles are taken from the life of courts, and also from ecclesiastical and monastic organisations. The greatest number and variety of titles of honour, however, is undoubtedly to be found amongst Mussulman nations, who have been familiar from the beginning with the idea of the alien but friendly

tribe. In all countries, as well in Asia as in mediæval Europe, individual women, owing to the accidents of rank or character, have occasionally distinguished themselves in civil and even in military administration. If France has had her saintly queen, Blanche of Castile, China has had a sovereign of talents and piety no less touching and memorable in Tchang-sun-chi, who came to the throne in 626 A.D. as wife of Tai-tsoung; and military greatness and heroism have more than once been seen in Indian women. In spite of these facts, the *civitas*, as the main concern of women, forms an idea which cannot be said ever to have occurred to any Eastern people, in the sense in which it has certainly emerged during the last hundred years amongst those nations which inherit from Imperial Rome.

In the West to-day there are large classes of unmarried women, both professional and leisured, amongst whom the interest of the civic life has definitely replaced that of the domestic life. The East, meanwhile, continues to regard the family as woman's proper and characteristic sphere. The family as the social unit determines its conception of the whole of society. Community of blood and origin, knitting the kinship into one, becomes all-important to it as the bond of unity. The whole tends to be conceived of in Eastern countries as the social area within which marriages can take place. That combination of conceptions of race and class which thus comes into prominence constitutes *caste*, rising in its multiplicity into the *ecclesia* or *samaj*. Throughout the art of Eastern peoples we can see how important and easily discriminated by them is the difference between mean and noble race. The same fact comes out even in their scientific interests, where questions of ethnology have always tended to supplant history proper. And in geography their attention naturally gravitates towards the human rather than the economic aspects of its problems. As a compensating factor to the notion of birth, the East has also the more truly civic idea of the village community, a natural norm for the thought of nationality. But left to themselves, undisturbed by the political necessities engendered by foreign contacts, Oriental communities would probably have continued in the future, as in the past, to develop the idea of a larger unity, along the lines of family, caste, *samaj*, and race, the culmination being the great *nexus* of classes, sects, and kinships bound together by associations of faith and custom for the maintenance of universal purity of pedigree. The West, on the other hand, though not incapable of evolving the worship of blood and class, tends naturally to the exaltation of place and country as the motive of cohesion, and thus gives birth to the conception of nationality as opposed to that of race.

Racial unity tends to modification, in the special case of the

Mussulman peoples, by their dependence on a simple religious idea, acting on an original tribal nucleus, as their sole and sufficient bond of commonalty. Islam encourages the intermarriage of all Mussulmans, whatever their racial origin. But it would be easy to show that this fact is not really the exception it might at first appear. The race has here, in an absolute sense, become the church, and that church is apostolic and proselytising. Thus the unit is constantly growing by accretion. It remains fundamentally a racial unit, nevertheless, though nearer than others to the national type. In the case of Chinese civilisation, again, the race-idea would seem to be modifiable by Confucian ethics, with their marvellous common-sense and regard for the public good, creating as these do a natural tendency towards patriotism and national cohesion. Yet it is seen in the importance of ancestor-worship as the family bond. The sacrament of marriage consists in the beautiful ceremony of bringing the bride to join her husband in the offering of divine honours to his forefathers.

Amongst Hindus the same motive is evidenced in the notion that it is the duty of all to raise up at least one son to offer ceremonies of commemoration to the ancestors. The forefathers of an extinct family go sorrowful, and may be famine-stricken, in the other world. In my own opinion this is only an ancient way of impressing on the community the need for maintaining its numbers. This must have been an important consideration to thoughtful minds amongst early civilised peoples, faced as they were by the greater numbers of those whose customs were more primitive. Only when a man's place in his community was taken by a son could he be free to follow the whims of an individual career.

The Family in Islam.—The family is, in all countries and all ages, the natural sphere for the working-out of the ethical struggle, with its results in personal development. The happiness of families everywhere depends, not on the subordination of this member or that, but on the mutual self-adjustment of all. In the large households and undivided families of Eastern countries this necessity is self-evident. The very possibility of such organisation depended in the first place on the due regimentation of rank and duties. Here we come upon that phenomenon of the subordination of woman whose expression is apt to cause so much irritation to the ardent feminists of the present day. Yet for a permanent union of two elements, like husband and wife, it is surely essential that one or other should be granted the lead. For many reasons this part falls to the man. It is only when the civic organisation has emerged as the ideal of unity that husband and wife, without hurt to their own union, can resolve themselves into great equal and rival powers, holding a common relation to it as separate individuals. The premier consideration of family decorum involves the theoretical acceptance, by man or woman, of first and second places respectively. In the patriarchal family—and the matriarchate is now exceptional and belated—the second place is always taken by woman; but the emphasis of this announcement is in proportion to the resistance offered to its first promulgation. That is to say the law was formulated at the very birth of patriarchal institutions, when it sounded as if it

were nothing more than a paradox. It is this fact, and not any desire to insult or humiliate women as such, that accounts for the strength of Eastern doctrines as to the pre-eminence of man. Semitic institutions, and especially the characteristic polygamy of Mussulman peoples, are a testimony to this enthusiasm for fatherhood at the moment of the rise of the patriarchate. To a fully individualised and civicised womanhood, the position of wife in a polygamous family might well seem intolerable. Such an anomaly is only really compatible with the passionate pursuit of renunciation as the rule of life, and with the thought of the son, rather than the husband, as the emotional refuge and support of woman. Polygamy, though held permissible in India and China for the maintenance of the family, does not receive in either country that degree of sanction which appears to be accorded to it in Islam. It is at once the strength and the weakness of Islamic civilisation that it seems to realise itself almost entirely as a crystallisation of the patriarchal ideal, perhaps in contrast to the matriarchal races by whom early Semitic tribes were surrounded. In the spontaneous Islamic movement for progressive self-modification which our time is witnessing, under the name of *Babism*, or *Behai-ism*, great stress is laid on the religious duty of educating and emancipating woman as an individual.

The Family in China.—China, though seemingly less dependent on the supernatural for the sources of her idealism than either India or Arabia, appears to have an intellectual passion for the general good. She appreciates every form of self-sacrifice for the good of others, but is held back, apparently by her eminently rational and positive turn of mind, from those excesses of the ideal which are to be met with in India. She judges of the most generous impulse in the light of its practical application. As an example, her clear conception of the importance of perfect union between a wedded couple never seems to have led her to the practice of child marriage. The age of twenty for women and thirty for men is by her considered perfect for marrying.* Nor has any inherent objection ever been formulated in China to the education of woman. On the contrary, the National Canon of Biography, ever since the last century B.C., has always devoted a large section to eminent women, their education and their literary productions. Many famous plays and poems have been written by women. And as a special case in point, it is interesting to note that one of the dynastic histories, left unfinished on the death of its author, was brought to a worthy conclusion by his accomplished sister.†

The fact that a woman shares the titles of her husband, and receives with him ancestral honours, points in the same direction of respect and courtesy to woman as an individual. We are accustomed to hear that filial piety is the central virtue of Chinese life; but it is essential that we should realise that this piety is paid to father *and mother*, not to either alone—witness in itself to the sweetness and solidarity of family life. I have heard a translation of a long Chinese poem on the discovery of the *vina*, or Oriental violin, in which we see a maiden sigh over her weaving, and finally rise from the loom and don man's attire, in order to ride forth, in place of her aged father, to the wars in the far north. It is on her way to the seat of action that she comes across the instrument which is the soul of song, and sends it back to her father and mother, that its music may tell how her own heart sighs for them day and night! All writers seem to agree in admitting that the devotion of children to parents here extolled is fully equalled by the love of Chinese parents for their children.

The essential part of the ceremonies of ancestral worship must be performed, in a Chinese family, by the sons. Woman may assist, it seems, but can never replace, man in this office. In the year 1033 the Dowager-Empress, in the office of Regent, as a protest against the exclusion of women, insisted on herself per-

* Martin.

† Professor Giles, Lecturer at Columbia University.

forming the state worship to the ancestors rendered necessary by the advent of a comet. This bold innovation proved, however, merely exceptional. Again, the rule that a child shall be born in its *father's* house is one of unbending rigour, in spite of the great liberality with which women are often allowed, after marriage, to revisit the paternal roof.¹ These facts mark the memory of an energetic transition from matriarchate to patriarchate, which has failed, nevertheless, to obliterate all traces of the earlier. Chinese society ascribes the end of the matriarchate, that is to say, the institution of marriage, to the mythical emperor Fou-hi, some two and a half millenniums before the Christian era. In confirmation of the tradition, this emperor himself is said to have been of virgin birth, that is to say, his mother was unwedded, a common characteristic of the ancient Chinese saints and heroes.² A similar persistence of the memory of the matriarchate is seen in Southern China, in the prevalence of the worship of goddesses, and notably of Kwan-Yin, Queen of Heaven. It should be said that throughout Asia the worship of goddesses is vastly older than that of gods, and may be held one of the best means of studying the matriarchate. The Chinese ideograph for clan-name is a compound of *woman* and *birth*, a distinct relic of the period when descent was reckoned through the mother. And finally, the persistence of matriarchal influence is seen, not only in the frequent political importance of the Dowager-Empress, or Queen-Mother, but also in humbler ranks of society, by the vigilance which seems to be exercised by the woman's family, and even by her native or ancestral village, over the treatment accorded to her in marriage. According to Dr. Arthur Smith, it is this which is effective in staving off divorce as long as possible and in punishing cruelty or desertion. Thus the woman's kindred enjoy a remarkable unwritten power, as a sort of opposite contracting party in the treaty of marriage, and exercise a responsibility and care unexampled in Europe.

Nor is pure idealism altogether unrepresented in the life of Chinese women. This is seen in the tendency of girls to take the vow of virginity; in the respect felt for women who marry only once; and in the public honours accorded to such as, before sixty years of age, complete thirty years of faithful widowhood. Both Buddhism and Tao-ism include orders of nuns, amongst whom the Tao-ist communities are said at present to enjoy the greater social prestige. A regrettable feature of these ideals—which may play a part, however, in impelling Chinese society forward upon the exaltation of the civic life for women—is the fact that girls sometimes band themselves together under a secret vow of suicide in common, if any of their number should be forced into marriage. Writers on the subject attribute this reverence for the idea of virginity to the percolation of Indian thought into China, and such may possibly be its origin. But it is easy to understand that it might have arisen spontaneously, from those high conceptions of womanly honour that are inseparable from the stability of patriarchal institutions, joined to that historic commemoration of the heroic women of the matriarchate which has already been mentioned.

The Family in India.—In India, as in China, the perpetuation of the family is regarded as the paramount duty of the individual to the Commonwealth. There is a like desire for male posterity, made universal by a similar rule that only a son can offer the sacraments of the dead to the spirits of his forefathers. But the practice of adoption is very frequent, and the intervention of a priestly class, in the form of domestic chaplains, makes this element somewhat less central to the Hindu system than to the Chinese, amongst whom the father is also the celebrant.

As throughout Asia, the family is undivided, and in the vast households of this type domestic matters are entirely in the governance of women. Servants

¹ Dr. Arthur Smith, *Village Life in China*.

² Giles.

are few in the inner or women's apartments, and even women of rank and wealth give more time, and contribute more personal energy, to the tasks of cooking, nursing, and cleansing than we should think appropriate. Child-marriage, which, though decreasing, is still more or less the representative custom, renders the initial relations of the young bride to her husband's people somewhat like those of a Western girl to her first boarding-school. But it is not to be forgotten that the woman shares in the rank and titles of her husband, hence the path of her promotion to positions of honour and priority is clearly marked out from the beginning. The advent of motherhood gives her an access of power, and this recognition culminates in the fact that in the absence of sons she is her husband's heir, and always the guardian of her children during their minority. As a widow, she has also the very important right of adoption. The personal property of a mother goes to her daughters.

Anything more beautiful than the life of the Indian home, as created and directed by Indian women, it would be difficult to conceive. But if there is one relation, or one position, on which above all others the idealising energy of the people spends itself, it is that of the wife. Here, according to Hindu ideas, is the very pivot of society and poetry. Marriage, in Hinduism, is a sacrament, and indissoluble. The notion of divorce is as impossible as the re-marriage of the widow is abhorrent. Even in Orthodox Hinduism this last has been made legally possible, by the life and labours of the late Pundit Iswar Chunder Vidyasagar, an old Brahminical scholar, who was one of the stoutest champions of individual freedom, as he conceived of it, that the world ever saw. But the common sentiment of the people remains as it was, unaffected by the changed legal status of the widow. The one point that does undoubtedly make for a greater frequency of widow-remarriages is the growing desire of young men for wives whose age promises maturity and companionship. A very pathetic advertisement lately, in one of the Calcutta dailies, set forth such a need on the part of a man of birth and position, and added, "Not one farthing of dower will be required!" Probably this one social force alone will do more than any other to postpone the age of marriage and ensure the worthy education of woman. It is part of the fact that Hinduism sees behind the individual the family, and behind the family society, that there is no excuse made for the sin of abandoning the husband and deserting the burdens and responsibilities of wifehood. If one does this, the East never plays with the idea that she may have fled from the intolerable, but gravely makes her responsible for all the ensuing social confusion. There was indeed a movement of religious revivalism in the fifteenth century—a sort of Hindu Methodism—which asserted the right of woman as equal to that of man to a life of religious celibacy. But ordinarily, any desertion of the family would be held to be unfaithfulness to it. And all the dreams of the Indian people centre in the thought of heroic purity and faith in wifehood.

There is a half-magical element in this attitude of Hindus towards women. As performers of ritual-worship they are regarded as second only to the professional Brahmin himself. I have even seen a temple served by a woman, during the temporary illness of her son, who was the priest. Our prejudice in favour of the exclusive sacramental efficacy of man, instinctive as it may seem to us, is probably due to Semitic influences. Even Rome had the Vestal Virgins! In the non-Brahminical community of Coorg the whole ceremony of marriage is performed by women, and even amongst Brahmins themselves, the country over, an important part of the wedding rites is in their hands. A woman's blessing is everywhere considered more efficacious than a man's in preparing for a journey or beginning an undertaking. Women are constituted spiritual directors, and receive the revenues and perform the duties of a domestic chaplaincy during the incumbent's minority without the matter even exciting comment. A little boy is taught that whatever he may do to his brothers, to strike his sister would

be sacrilege. A man is expected to love his mother above any other created being. And the happiness of women is supposed to bring fortune in its train. The woman-ruler finds a sentiment of awe and admiration waiting for her, which gives her an immense advantage over a man in the competition for enduring fame. These facts are of course partly due to the intense piety and self-effacement of the lives led by women at large; but still more to the dim memory of a time when they were the matriarchs and protectors of the world. There is no free mixing of the sexes outside the family in any one of the three great Asiatic societies—Chinese, Indian, or Islamic. But the degree of woman's cloistered seclusion varies considerably in different parts, being least in those provinces of India where the communal institutions of primitive society have been least interfered with by contact with Mohammedanism, and at its strictest, probably, amongst the Mussulman peoples.

The Economic Standing of Women in the East.—Even a cursory study of the position of woman is compelled to include some mention of her economic standing. In societies where the family furnishes her main career, she is generally of necessity in a position of dependence, either on father or husband. Amongst Hindus, this is mitigated by a *dol*, consisting of jewels, given at marriage and after. This property, once given, becomes the woman's own, not to be touched even by her husband, and in case of widowhood, if there is no other fund, she is supposed to be able to sell it and live on the interest. Amongst Mohammedans a dower is named, and deeds of settlement executed by the husband at marriage. It is said that every Mussulman cabman in Calcutta has undertaken to provide for his wife a dower of thousands of rupees. To pay this is obviously impossible, yet the institution is not meaningless. In case he wishes for divorce a man can be compelled to pay to the uttermost, and God Himself, it is said, will ask, on the Day of Judgment, where is the amount that he left in default. It is easy to see how this is calculated to protect the wife. The custom gives point also to the beautiful story of Fatima, daughter of Mohammed and wife of Ali, who was asked by her father what dower she would wish named, and answered, "The salvation of every Mussulman!" Leaving her own future thus unprotected in the risks of marriage, God Himself would not be able to refuse her dower on the Day of Judgment.

I have not been able to discover what provision is made by the Chinese for a woman, in case of a long and lonely widowhood. Doubtless, in China as in India, the most substantial part of her provision lies in the solidarity of the family as a whole. If her husband's relatives cannot support her, a woman falls back upon her own father or brothers. As long as either family exists, and is able to support her, she has an acknowledged place. If she have sons, both she and they must remain with the husband's people.

The whole East understands the need of a woman's having pin-money. In China, it is said, the proceeds of cotton-picking, and no doubt also what comes of the care of silkworms; in India, such matters as the sale of milk, cattle, and fruit; and among Mohammedans, eggs, chickens, and goat's milk, are all the perquisites of the mistress of the household. Like the French, the Eastern woman is often of an excessive thrift, and her power of saving, by the accumulation of small sums, is remarkable. That the women require, in the interests of the home itself, to have a store of their own, probably every man would admit. Of course, where the circumstances of the family are of a grinding poverty, this cannot be.

It must be understood that the present age, in the East even more than amongst ourselves, is one of economic transition. Fifty years ago there, as a hundred and fifty years ago amongst ourselves, the main occupation of all women, and especially of those of gentle birth, was spinning. I have met many a man of high education whose childhood was passed in dependence on the

secret earnings of, say, a grandmother. Such a possibility no longer exists, and perhaps one of the saddest consequences, East and West, is the amount of unfruitful leisure that has taken its place. Instead of the old spinning and its kindred arts, the Western woman, as we all know—owing to the growth of luxury and loss of efficiency—has become still more dependent on her husband than she was. The main economic advance of woman among ourselves lies in the striking-out of new professions and careers by unmarried women. This is not yet a factor of great importance in the East. In India, we have a few women-doctors and writers; and a growing perception of the need of modern education is raising up a class of teachers, who are training themselves to assist in the spread of instruction amongst women. Besides this, in a lower social class, the old household industries are giving place to the factory organisation, and in many places woman is becoming a wage-earner. This change is of course accompanied by great economic instability, and by the pinch of poverty in all directions. It is one of the many phases of that substitution of civilisations which is now proceeding. This substitution is a terrible process to watch. It is full of suffering and penalties. Yet the East cannot be saved from it. All that service can attempt is to secure that institutions shall not be transplanted without the ideals to which they stand related. Accepting these, it is possible that Eastern peoples may themselves be able to purify and redeem the new, transforming it to the long-known uses of their own evolution.

Incipient Developments.—India, it should be understood, is the headwater of Asiatic thought and idealism. In other countries we may meet with applications, there we find the idea itself. In India, the sanctity and sweetness of family life have been raised to the rank of a great culture. Wifehood is a religion, motherhood a dream of perfection; and the pride and protectiveness of man are developed to a very high degree. The Ramayana—epic of the Indian home—boldly lays down the doctrine that a man, like a woman, should marry but once. “We are born once,” said an Indian woman to me, with great haughtiness; “we die once. And likewise we are married once!” Whatever new developments may now lie before the womanhood of the East, it is ours to hope that they will constitute only a pouring of the molten metal of her old faithfulness and consecration into the new moulds of a wider knowledge and extended social formation.

Turning to the West, it would appear that the modern age has not unsealed any new springs of moral force for woman in the direction of the family, though by initiating her, as woman, into the wider publicity and influence of the civic area it has enormously increased the social importance of her continuing to drink undisturbed at the older sources of her character. The modern organisation, on the other hand, by bringing home to her stored and garnered maternal instinct the spectacle of the wider sorrows and imperfections of the civic development, has undoubtedly opened to her a new world of responsibility and individuation. The woman

of the East is already embarked on a course of self-transformation which can only end by endowing her with a full measure of civic and intellectual personality. Is it too much to hope that, as she has been content to quaff from our wells in this matter of the extension of the personal scope, so we might be glad to refresh ourselves at hers, and gain therefrom a renewed sense of the sanctity of the family, and particularly of the inviolability of marriage?

[Paper submitted in English.]

INSTABILITY OF HUMAN TYPES

By Dr. FRANZ BOAS,

Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University, New York.

WHEN we try to judge the ability of races of man, we make the silent assumption that ability is something permanent and stationary, that it depends upon heredity, and that, as compared to it, environmental, modifying influences are, comparatively speaking, of slight importance. While in a comparative study of the physical characteristics of races that are as distinct as the white and the negro, or the negro and the Mongol, this assumption might be accepted as a basis for further studies, its validity is not so clear in a comparison of the mental characteristics of branches of the same race. When, for instance, it is claimed that certain types of Europe show better mental endowment than other types of Europe, the assumption is made that these types are stable, and cannot undergo far-reaching differences when placed in a new social or geographical environment.

It would seem, therefore, that a study of the stability of race-types has not only a fundamental biological importance, but that it will also determine our views of the relative mental endowment of different types of man.

A theoretical investigation of this problem will show that the assumption of an absolute stability of human types is not plausible. Observations on growth have shown that the amount of growth of the whole body depends upon more or less favourable conditions which prevail during the period of development. Unfavourable conditions retard growth; exceptionally favourable conditions accelerate it. A more detailed study of the phenomena of growth has shown that the development of different parts of the body does not proceed by any means at the same rate at a given period. Thus at the time of birth the bulk of the body and stature are very small, and increase with great rapidity until about the fourteenth year in girls, and the sixteenth year in boys. On the

other hand, the size of the head increases rapidly only for one or two years ; and from this time on the increment is, comparatively speaking, slight. Similar conditions prevail in regard to the growth of the face, which grows rapidly for a few years only, and later on increases, comparatively speaking, slowly. The amount of water contained in the brain also changes with a fair amount of rapidity during the early years of life, and remains about the same later on. It follows from this observation that if an individual is retarded by unfavourable conditions after a certain organ has obtained nearly its full development, while other organs are still in the process of rapid evolution, the former cannot be much influenced, while the latter may bear evidence of the unfavourable conditions which were controlling during a certain period of life. This must necessarily have the result that the proportions of the body of the adult will depend upon the general conditions of life prevailing during youth, and the effects of these conditions will be most noticeable in those organs which have the longest period of development.

It is a well-known fact that the central nervous system continues to develop in structure longer perhaps than any other part of the body, and it may therefore be inferred that it will be apt to show the most far-reaching influences of environment.

It follows from this consideration that social and geographical environment must have an influence upon the form of the body of the adult, and upon the development of his central nervous system.

This theoretical consideration is borne out by observation. The investigations of Bolk have shown clearly that an increase in stature has occurred in Europe during the last decades, due evidently to a change of environment ; and the numerous investigations which have been made on the proportions of the body of the well-to-do and of the poor, of able students and poor students—all show characteristic differences, which may be explained in great part as effects of the retardation and acceleration to which we have referred.

It would seem, however, that besides the influences of more or less favourable environment which affect the form of the body during the period of growth, a number of other causes may modify the form of the body. Professor Ridgeway goes so far as to think that the stability of human types in definite areas and for long periods is an expression, not of the influence of heredity, but of the influence of environment ; and that, on the other hand, the modifications of the human form which are found in the Mediterranean area, in Central Europe, and in North-western Europe, are

due to the differences of climate, soil, and natural products. It does not seem to me that adequate proof can be given for modifications of the human form as far-reaching as those claimed by Professor Ridgeway, although we must grant the possibility of such influences. We have, however, good evidence which shows that the various European types undergo certain changes in a new environment. The observations on which this conclusion is based were made by me on emigrants from various European countries who live in the city of New York, and on their descendants.

The investigation of a large number of families has shown that every single measurement that has been studied has one value among individuals born in Europe, another one among individuals of the same families born in America. Thus, among the East European Jews the head of the European-born is shorter than the head of the American-born. It is wider among the European-born than it is among the America-born. At the same time the American-born is taller. As a result of the increase in the growth of head, and decrease of the width of head, the length-breadth index is considerably less than the corresponding index in the European-born. All these differences seem to increase with the time elapsed between the emigration of the parents and the birth of the child, and are much more marked in the second generation of American-born individuals.

Among the long-headed Sicilians similar observations have been made, but the changes are in a different direction. The stature does not change much; if anything, it is shorter among the American-born than among the European-born. The head is shorter among the American-born, and at the same time wider, than among the European-born. Thus a certain approach of the two distinct types may be observed.

It would of course be saying too much to claim that this approach expresses a tendency of diverse European types to assume the same form in America. Our studies prove only a modification of the type; but we are not able to determine what the ultimate amount of these modifications will be, and whether there is any real tendency of modifying diverse types in such a way that one particular American type should develop, rather than a limited modification of each particular European type.

The people of Bohemia and Hungary show also the effect of the changed environment. Among them both width of head and length of head decrease. The face becomes much narrower, the stature taller.

It is most remarkable that the change in head-form of American-

born individuals occurs almost immediately after the arrival of their parents in America. A comparison of individuals born in Europe with those born in America shows that the change of head-form is almost abrupt at the time of immigration. The child born abroad, even if it is less than one year old at the time of arrival, has the head-form of the European-born. The child born in America, even if born only a few months after the arrival of the parents, has the head-form of the American-born. The failure of American environment to influence the foreign-born might be expected, because the total change of the head-index from early youth to adult life is very small. On the other hand, those measurements of the body which continue to change during the period of growth show a marked influence of American environment upon European-born individuals who arrive in America as young children. Thus the stature of European-born individuals increases the more the younger they were at the time of their arrival in America. The width of the faces decreases the more the younger the child that came to America.

These observations are of importance, because it might be claimed that the changes in head-form develop because the mechanical treatment of children in America differs from their treatment in Europe. The European child is swaddled, while the American child is allowed to lie free in the cradle. The change in the face diameters and in stature show, however, that such mechanical considerations alone cannot explain the changes that actually take place.

The results obtained by a rough comparison of European-born and American-born have been corroborated by a direct comparison of European-born parents and their own American-born children, and also by a comparison of the European immigrants who came to America in one particular year, and of their descendants born in America. In all these cases the same types of differences were found.

These observations seem to indicate a decided plasticity of human types; but I wish to repeat that the limits of this plasticity are not known to us. It follows, however, directly, that if the bodily form undergoes far-reaching changes under a new environment, concomitant changes of the mind may be expected. The same reasons which led us to the conclusion that more or less favourable conditions during the period of growth will have the greater influence the longer the period of development of a particular part of the body, make it plausible that a change of environment will influence those parts of the body most thoroughly which have the longest period of growth and development. I believe, therefore,

that the American observations compel us to assume that the mental make-up of a certain type of man may be considerably influenced by his social and geographical environment. It is, of course, exceedingly difficult to give an actual proof of this conclusion by observation, because we know that the mental manifestations depend to a great extent upon the social group in which each individual grows up; but it is evident that the burden of proof is shifted upon those who claim absolute stability of mental characteristics of the same type under all possible conditions under which it may be found.

It may be pointed out here that the change of type which has been observed in America is in a way analogous to the difference of type that has been observed in Europe in a comparison between the urban population and the rural population. In all those cases in which thorough investigations have been made in regard to this problem, a difference in type has been found. The interpretation given in this phenomenon is, however, entirely different from the one attempted here. One group of observers, particularly Ridolfo Livi, believe that the type found in urban communities is largely due to the greater mixture of local types found in cities when compared to the open country. Others, notably Otto Ammon and Röse, believe that we have here evidence of natural selection, and that the better type survives. It seems to my mind that the latter theory cannot be substantiated, but that both mixture and change of type are sufficient to explain what is taking place in the transition from rural life to urban life.

It will naturally be asked, what produces changes in human types? Can these changes be so directed as to bring about an improvement of the race? I do not believe that these questions can be answered in the present state of our knowledge. The structural changes which must necessarily accompany the modifications of gross form are entirely unknown, and the physiological functions which are affected by the new environment cannot even be surmised. It seems, therefore, a vain endeavour to give a satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon at the present time. The investigation should be extended over numerous types, and carried on in different climates and different social environments, before we can hope to understand the correlation between bodily form and function and outward influences. The old idea of absolute stability of human types must, however, evidently be given up, and with it the belief of the hereditary superiority of certain types over others.

CLIMATIC CONTROL OF SKIN-COLOUR

By LIONEL W. LYDE, M.A.,

Professor of Economic Geography at University College, London.

THERE is no doubt that difference of skin-colour is one of the greatest "racial" barriers, and yet there can be little doubt that it is entirely a matter of climatic control.

The accepted unity of primeval man has a double basis, and would not be disproved even by the most complete proof of the existence of different original stocks—"gorilla," "orang," "gibbon," or any other. For the glaciation of the earth must have compressed all alike into low latitudes, where uniformity of climatic conditions and consequent human needs and food-supply must have produced uniformity of results.

The accepted site of the ancestral home in "Javanese" latitudes, even if there can be no longitudinal delimitation, involves the assumptions (1) that early Pleistocene man was dark-skinned and (2) that his earliest natural movements would be longitudinal—eastward or westward along the old Indo-African bridge, which may or may not have formed part of a larger "Lemurian" continent.

Now, in such longitudinal movements this primeval man, whom—without necessarily accepting all or any of the suggestions about a possible "Gondwanaland"—we may call a Gondwana, could meet with no marked change of temperature. And any Pleistocene relics of a possible Gondwanaland had this at least in common with the present distribution of land in the Southern Hemisphere, that their most southerly margin was in comparatively low latitudes. There was, therefore, no reasonable chance of the Gondwana being bleached by movement polewards, though he might be blackened by moving from forest to savana.

The case was different when he began to move northward; and any Pleistocene relics of a possible "Angaraland" had this at least in common with the present distribution of land in the Northern Hemisphere, that their most northerly margin was in very high latitudes. Consequently, even pre-glacial man, if he moved northwards, must have been bleached.

But when the negro of to-day is bleached—by disease or fright, old age or residence in dark forest, he turns yellowish, as the "shaded" inner sides of his hands or feet are normally. And the same fate must have overtaken the primeval Gondwana when he began to be bleached by movement polewards. Thus we infer a semi-primeval yellow man, whom we may call an Angara.

This Angara, again, even in the inter-glacial periods, must have been largely confined to longitudinal movement inside his own domain; and such movement would bring him eventually to an eastern or a western ocean. In approaching this ocean he would be further bleached by the increased humidity, and would become really white-skinned, as the Japanese and the Tavastian Finns actually are to-day.

The fundamental differences of skin-colour between the black tropical and the white temperate types of man are, therefore, of purely climatic origin, the climatic influence working both directly from without and indirectly through the different relative activities of lungs and intestines, the tropical climate throwing on the skin and the intestines work which the temperate climate throws on the lungs. The consequent increased activity of the lungs, in the presence of relatively little sun-light and sun-heat, favours the lighter colour of skin, while the increased activity of the liver and other intestines, in the presence of relatively great sun-light and sun-heat, favours the darker colour.

Under these circumstances it seems obvious that, whatever the value or the worthlessness of skin-colour as a test of "race," it is enormously the most important consideration in the climatic distribution of man. There is no question that ordinary sunburn in this country is a pathological phenomenon—*i.e.*, an injury caused only and directly by the short, actinic rays—that it seldom occurs in dark-skinned persons, and that it can be prevented in the fair-skinned by a slight staining of the skin. And there is no question that natural skin pigment is evolved for a precisely similar purpose—*i.e.*, to exclude the dangerous "X"-like rays.

Not only, then, is man pigmented as a protection against too much sun-light, but the amount of pigment also varies with the intensity of the sun-light. It is actually evolved under exposure to the light. Consequently in each "race" there must have been originally sufficient to protect it from the particular intensity of the light in the particular race-home. Otherwise the "race" would have become extinct, just as any plant would have become extinct in which there was not sufficient chlorophyll to absorb the rays of the particular wave-length that will break up the carbonic oxide of the air. If pigment is developed according to need, and if black stops more rays than brown, we should expect to find the "blackest" skins amongst men, like the blackest stripes on the zebra, in the hottest parts of the world that are unforested; and this is precisely what we do find—the real black man coming (except for a few small groups, *e.g.*, on the edge of the Australian desert) essentially from the African savana. The rich black of the Western Sudan, with its high percentage of

bright sunshine to leeward of monsoon jungle, is not found inside the jungle or on islands with typically marine climates. For instance, the negrilloes of the equatorial forest in Africa, like the Sakai in the Malay jungle, are yellowish; the Samangs, like most of the Australians, are dark chocolate; the Nilotic negroes are reddish; the Indonesians are almost tawny.

The absence of the forest is important from two points of view. It means, of course, the direct absence of tree-shade; it implies also a relative deficiency of rain, which is normally associated with absence of cloud. And it is precisely this underlying question of humidity that decides the varying shades of skin in the "black" man outside the forest areas. Wherever there is humid air to blanket the dangerous rays, as in the latitudes of constant equatorial rainfall or at the bottom of an enclosed valley, there the new adult arrival is actually "bleached," and indigenous children, as amongst the Krus, never become very deeply pigmented. On the same principle, the race-home of the white peoples was bound to be confined to the only part of the world where moist winds blow regularly towards high latitudes against a relief which allows them easy access inland over a large area.

Here, even apart from the humidity, neither heat nor light is intense; so that black skin is not needed as a protection against excessive light, while white skin is needed to minimise radiation of the relatively deficient heat. But even here the precise shade is blonder where the winds are never "traded" in summer; and, on the other hand, even white-haired animals have points that are not protected by hair—*e.g.*, the nose, protected by pigment, and that from the lower end of the spectrum—*e.g.*, pink.

Intermediate between the black man and the white man comes the yellow man, who is essentially the product of desiccating grass-lands in intemperate latitudes. Here the fundamental considerations are lack of humidity and seasonal extremes of temperature. Again the absence of cloud makes light the dangerous element, and the man must be pigmented; but the question of temperature is also important. The natural colour is, therefore, one which conserves heat nearly as well as white, but which also protects from light; and in these latitudes a colour from the low end of the spectrum gives ample protection, especially as the minimum cloudiness is associated with the winter season. That is to say, on the great steppes and prairies of the Northern Hemisphere, as upon the great plateaus and tundra, the normal colour should be some shade of yellow or red.

The normal red or yellow of these intemperate grass-lands is certain to be modified by anything which changes the relative humidity, and so the percentage of cloud—*e.g.*, mountains or proxi-

mity to the sea; and therefore "Aryan" mountaineers, like maritime Mongols, must be associated with white skins, just as the typical blonds of Europe must be associated with fiord and forest. Indeed, we may formulate a definite scheme of colour zones by relating temperature, as conditioned by sunshine and relief, to rainfall, as implying humidity and cloudiness.

The sun can certainly "blacken" wherever he is overhead and even outside that limit of latitude if the humidity is very low; and a comparison of the mean annual isotherm of 80° F. with the corresponding mean annual isohyet of 10 inches suggests about 25° N. and S. as the natural limits of black skin. But, of course, inside these limits there are large areas where, as we have seen, other conditions may interfere with the effect of direct bright sun-light.

Again, the sun can certainly "brown" up to the poleward limits of the Trade-winds, within which the cold, dry air is moving from colder to warmer latitudes, and can therefore at first hold much more moisture than it can normally get. These poleward limits of the Trade-wind system thus include all sub-tropical "Mediterranean" areas with their dry, bright summers and low relative humidity; and we may fix the natural limits of brown skin as within such parts of latitudes 25° to 35° N. and S. as experience the full effect of the Trade-winds and have no local influence counteracting that effect. We may add that there is a climatic propriety in the love of these brown-skinned peoples, alike in the summer drought of the Mediterranean area and in the winter drought of the Monsoon area, for clothing of colours from the low end of the spectrum—*e.g.*, red or yellow.

Once inside the normal lower latitudes of the Anti-Trades a tinge of bleaching yellow naturally invades the brown, and, as red is so near yellow in the spectrum, the particular tinge may tend towards yellow or red or olive in response to particular local conditions, the yellow being always associated with vast desiccating grass-lands.

The northern limit of this yellow zone must have been naturally about the northern latitudes of China; but, as Western Asia came more and more under the influence of drought, the limit in that direction would be extended polewards at least as far as the edge of the Siberian forest. Comparing these conditions with their nearest parallel in the grass-lands of North America, we may fix the natural frontiers of the yellow skin round such continental parts of 35° to 45° N. as are unforested, and such areas farther north as come directly under the influence of winter winds from a Pole of cold.

Outside the limits just referred to, within a southern frontier which may roughly coincide with the southern frontier of Bear-worshippers, is the actual race-home of the white-skinned. Here

the sun has only power to "tan," and even that power is heavily discounted by the constant presence of forests and in the normal path of cyclonic systems. In view, then, of the great importance of the angle of ray-impact and the thickness of atmosphere passed through, we may fix the natural limits of the "tanned" white within such parts of latitudes 45° to 55° N. as are maritime or forested, whilst the "bleached" white must have come from north of 55° N., which is roughly the latitude of Copenhagen.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL MISCEGENATION

By Professor EARL FINCH, *Wilberforce University, U.S.A.*

IT is well known that whenever two races occupy the same geographical area a mixed population arises; in fact, such a large percentage of the world's population has come into existence by race crossing that the character of the product is as important for social welfare as it is interesting for the anthropologist and sociologist. The question gains added importance in the present era of colonial expansion from the increasing contact of the European with the dark-skinned populations of the tropics, with whom he has never hesitated to mingle his blood. The question, however, has been so generally approached from the side of philosophic doctrine, rather than from the side of objective study, that there is the greatest possible divergence between the conclusions of those who presume to speak with authority. The followers of Gobineau, in France, and Morton, in America, have maintained that racial inter-mixture has had and can have only disastrous consequences. At the other extreme are those who preached the gospel of amalgamation in the United States, during and after the Civil War, maintaining that intermixture between races so dissimilar as the whites and negroes would prove beneficial. It is the object of the writer to present some facts tending to prove that race blending, especially in the rare instances when it occurs under favourable circumstances, produces a type superior in fertility, vitality, and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stocks.

The superiority of the mixed people to the native stock in fertility and vitality is shown by their persistence, sometimes in the very locality in which the native race, in contact with foreigners, has declined or disappeared. When Tasmania was colonised the native population was roughly estimated at 7,000. The policy of extermination pursued by the colonists had reduced the aborigines to 120 in

1832. These were removed to Flinder's Island; but although the locality is healthy they had declined in 1847 to 14 men, 22 women, and 10 children. These were removed in 1847 to Oyster Cove in the southern part of Tasmania, but they declined so rapidly that only three elderly women survived in 1869, the last of whom died in 1876.¹ The rapid decline of the Maoris and Australians is well known. The native population of the Hawaiian Islands estimated at 300,000 when Cook discovered the Islands in 1778 had declined to 29,787 in 1900.

It was apparent, however, even in the time of Darwin, that a cross between the native stock and a civilised race gives rise to a progeny capable of existing and multiplying in spite of changed conditions. Between 1866 and 1872 the native Hawaiians decreased by 8,081, while the half-breeds increased by 847.² Between 1890 and 1900 the Hawaiians of full blood decreased from 34,436 to 29,787, while those of mixed blood increased from 6,186 to 7,848.

Quatrefages wrote that "the Polynesian Islanders disappear with a terrible rapidity, whilst their mixed races, and even pure-blooded Europeans, show a redoubled fertility."³ Although the American Indian tends to decline in the presence of European civilisation, the products of the blending of Negroes, Spanish, and Portuguese with the Indian, form a large fraction of the population of the southern part of the Western hemisphere. The Griquas of South Africa, descendants of Dutch and Hottentots, have prospered and multiplied, while the pure Hottentots have rapidly decreased. Even after making due allowance in all these cases for the increase due to the birth of half-breeds of the first generation, the superior fertility and vitality of the mixed population are evident.

Pitcairn Island was settled in 1790 by nine English mutineers, six Tahitian men, and fifteen Tahitian women. In 1808 only white men and eight or nine women and children were left. But the first half-breeds grew up, intermarried, and had numerous children. In 1855 the population had increased to 200. After removing to Norfolk Island in 1856 they increased so rapidly that, although sixteen returned to Pitcairn in 1859, they numbered 300 in 1868;⁴ in 1905 the population of Norfolk Island was 1,059, a majority of whom were descendants of the mutineers. The present population of Pitcairn Island is flourishing. Emily L. McCoy, a direct descendant of one of the mutineers, writes: "We have good constitutions, though so closely related, and we are as healthy and active from childhood to

¹ J. Bonwick, *The Lost Tasmanian Race*.

² Darwin, *Descent of Man*, vol. I., p. 253.

³ Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 220.

⁴ Darwin, *Descent of Man*, vol. I., p. 253. Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 263.

old age as a people can well be."¹ The remarkable increase of the half-breeds of Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands, more rapid than the increase of the population of England, is in striking contrast with the rapid decline of the Tasmanians, Maoris, and Australians.

Facts in favour of the view that mulattoes are not fertile are so eagerly sought that the large body of evidence, tending to prove the exact opposite, is ignored. An eminent authority in the United States argues that the decrease of intercourse between whites and negroes in the Southern States is causing a decrease in the number of mulattoes and a perceptible return to the pure African type.² But the census shows that there has been a more rapid increase among mulattoes than among negroes of the purer type, during this very period of decreasing intercourse.³

Percentage of mulattoes in total negro population :—

			1890.		1870.
Continental United States ...	...	...	15'2	...	12
North Atlantic Division ...	...	...	23'2	...	17'3
South Atlantic Division ...	...	...	13'4	...	10'4
North Central Division ...	...	...	31	...	22'3
South Central Division ...	...	...	14	...	11'8
Western Division ...	...	...	39'2	...	35'6

Although it is probable that the decrease of race crossing in the United States is often over-estimated, there are conditions unfavourable to the perpetuation of the mulatto type. There is a tendency for the mixed population to disappear by marrying into the darker race, or by identifying themselves with the white. The strenuous attempt to bar negroes from participation in the privileges of democratic society leads many of the proscribed class, whose negro blood cannot be detected, to affiliate with the favoured race by settling in localities where they are unknown. The rapid increase of mulattoes under these conditions is strong evidence that they are not inferior in fertility or virility to either of the parent stocks. The coloured people in Jamaica persist as a fairly well-marked type, although their number is hardly one-fourth that of the blacks, while the white population is so small that no large number of mixed people can be added by race crossing. The mulatto class persists in Haiti, although they form only ten per cent. of the population, and the number of whites is negligible. The mixed population of Santo Domingo increases rapidly, although the number born from crossing with any pure stock is very small.

It is extremely difficult for the mixed class to demonstrate their cultural worth because of the deplorable conditions under which the

¹ *The Independent*, September 29, 1904.

² Bruce, *The Plantation Negro as Freeman*, p. 53.

³ *Census Bulletin*, p. 8; *Negroes in the United States*, p. 16.

mixed populations come into existence. Most race crossing has occurred on the outskirts of civilisation, and the half-breeds, despised by one race and despising the other, have been outcasts from society. The victims of prejudice and social ostracism are certain to display some bad qualities; yet, despite these untoward circumstances, there is a large body of evidence of the superior energy and mental vigour produced by the race crossing. The greater number of negroes who have achieved distinction in the United States have been men of mixed blood. Many of the purer type have manifested remarkable intellectual power, yet it is probably more than a coincidence that Douglas, Washington, and DuBois, who have attained the height of group leadership, have been mulattoes; superior, moreover, to both the white and blacks in their ancestry. The mulattoes of Haiti form a large percentage of the aristocracy, and are very prominent in commerce, in the professions, and in State affairs. The coloured people of Jamaica constitute a majority of those engaged in the trades and professions. Sir Sydney Olivier considers that this class of mixed race is indispensable to any West Indian community, because it saves the community from the cleavage between white and black, and helps to form an organic whole. Quatrefages believed that the half-breed of the negro and European, when placed under normal conditions, justifies the words of the old traveller, Thevenot: "The mulatto can do all that the white man can do; his intelligence is equal to ours."¹ If the mulatto is not superior in fertility, the rapidly declining birth-rate of the white nations may soon give him this significant advantage.

It is not surprising that racial miscegenation often produces an inferior population. The withholding of social and legal sanction from inter-racial marriages tends to limit unions to the lower classes, the offspring of which are like the parents. But the results are likely to be advantageous if the crossing occurs under favourable conditions. "The Ainos of Japan, who are vanishing by amalgamation, are a very different and more primitive type than the Japanese, and both appear to be benefited by the process of absorption. The Portuguese and the Dutch have been intermarrying for several centuries in farther India to the advantage of both races, as is true of the Russians with the older natives of Siberia. The mixture of Arabs with the North Africans has produced the Moors; many crossings of the Turks, the mixture of the Spaniards and Indians in South America and Mexico, especially in Chile, which have resulted in Neo-Indian and Neo-Aryan types, show how favourably the crossing of races may act if differences are not great and if both sexes of both races marry with each other instead of only the men of one with the women of the other."² In

¹ *The Human Species*, p. 283.

² G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. ii., pp. 722-3.

the province of Saint Paul, Brazil, Portuguese and inhabitants of the Azores have intermarried with the native Gayanazes and Carijos. From the first, unions were regularly contracted among them, and the offspring were accepted as the equals of the pure whites. From these unions has sprung a race as noted for remarkable moral development as for intellectual power and for strength, beauty, and courage.

Crossing was accomplished under normal conditions in Saint Paul because of favourable social sentiment ; approximately normal conditions prevailed at Pitcairn, because of geographical isolation. The Paulists appear to be equal, if not superior, to the most advanced of the parent stocks, while few will deny that the Pitcairn Islanders are superior to their Tahitian mothers and their English fathers.

While race blending is not everywhere desirable, yet the crossing of distinct races, especially when it occurs with social sanction, often produces a superior type ; certainly such crossing as has occurred tends to prove absurd the conclusion that the dilution of the blood of the so-called higher races by that of the so-called lower races will either set the species on the highway to extinction, or cause a relapse into barbarism.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THIRD SESSION

CONDITIONS OF PROGRESS (SPECIAL PROBLEMS)

TENDENCIES TOWARDS PARLIAMENTARY RULE

By Dr. CHR. L. LANGE, *Brussels*,
General Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, Norwegian
Member of the Second Hague Conference.

Definition of Terms.—In general the term *parliamentary rule* denotes that special form of national self-government which was founded in Great Britain and Ireland some two hundred years ago, and of which the special characteristic is the subordination of the Executive to the Legislature. The Government, or *Cabinet*, tends to become a sort of committee chosen from among the party which has a majority in the more important branch of the Parliament, or National Representative Assembly.

In this Congress it will be chiefly interesting to examine one general aspect of the question. It seems to me that here it is natural, not so much to study the specific tendency toward parliamentary rule, which is limited to certain countries of highly developed European civilisation, as to follow the general trend of political evolution towards *self-government, through elected representatives, in national affairs.*

I beg to lay stress on each of the words in this expression.

The word *national* is used only in opposition to *local* or *provincial*. It will be outside the scope of the present paper to discuss the rather dubious use of the words *nation* and *national* as almost synonymous with *state* and *political*.

The essential point in the question before us is the representative character of the persons charged with a national mandate, and the correct title of the paper would therefore perhaps be: "Tendencies

towards a Representative System of Government." In earlier times this representative character was very often granted by the Central Government; the members of the House of Commons in England, for instance, were often nominated by them.

In our time it is hardly possible to conceive representation without an elective basis, and owing to the democratic development this basis tends to become more and more popular in character. In some States this evolution has already reached its ultimate term, and the principle of manhood and womanhood suffrage has been established.

As a rule democratic development is accompanied by a strong leaning towards parliamentary ascendancy as against the monarchical or governmental element, though this is not always the case. It is of no great interest in this connection to distinguish between *despotism* and *absolutism*. In neither case is there an element of a representative character of any importance in the management of public affairs. But it is necessary to observe the distinction between what might be called *constitutional government* and *parliamentary government* proper.

In *constitutional government* the Sovereign is bound by a Constitution, and some very important functions of the State—legislation or finance—can only be exercised by a co-operation of the Executive and the Legislature, the Government and Parliament. This is the system which prevails in the United States of America and in Germany. In *parliamentary government*, as is said above, the Government is dependent on Parliament to such an extent that, practically speaking, the Cabinet is only a committee of the parliamentary majority. This is the case in Great Britain, in France, and in most of the other European countries. There are, of course, a good many intermediate forms, and it is generally an idle question to ask to what type of government one or the other State belongs; certainly no great light is shed on the problem by such a distinction. It is cited here only to give completeness to our classification.

What we shall try to trace here, then, is the *general tendency towards the adoption of a representative form of government in national affairs*.

Early Development.—Though it seems that the principle of representative government was known in antiquity (provincial assemblies), its application became of real importance only in the Middle Ages. Two conditions facilitated this: the States were of a feudal character, the component parts of each claiming a certain independence within the general body, and they were large. The first circumstance implied that the different parts should have a certain share in the management of common affairs; the second circumstance made it

necessary that only *some* of the persons inhabiting each component part could meet in common. Thus the representative system originated. There is no country in Europe that has passed through the feudal stage which has not, at some time or other, had a representative assembly organised in "Orders." In most countries absolutism put an end to the existence, even the formal existence, of these institutions; but they survived in a few. In England, in Sweden, and in the Netherlands the Parliament, or the Orders, or States-General, have had a continuous, though often very chequered, existence down to our own time, and as long as the Polish Empire existed the *Diet* was the chief expression of Polish national life.

It is from the first of these countries, England, that the representative form of government, as the logical and natural expression of popular liberties, spread throughout the nations of European civilisation, and in the last few decades also to other countries.

Beginning of Modern Times.—Politically speaking, our age is the age of Democracy, and the great event opening this chapter in the world's history is the American Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July of the year 1776. In all the thirteen States founded by this great charter representative rule was firmly established, and when, in 1789, after thirteen years of experiment and hesitation, the Confederacy was at length established, the same principle was applied to the treatment of federal affairs.

The same year which saw the definite establishment of the great Democracy west of the Atlantic witnessed the opening of the great drama in European affairs whence the Europe of our own time has issued.

The birth of Modern Europe was accompanied by violent throes; life was sacrificed recklessly to bring forth new life. The great Revolution and the Napoleonic wars are events of importance in a larger history than that of France alone. No single European country had the same features in 1815 as it had had in 1789. Frontiers had changed; the great principle of national self-government—one nation, one State—found a more adequate expression at least than before; and in countries—such as Italy or Germany—where the principle was violated after having found some expression, however imperfect, the national ideals continued to live in the minds and hearts of the nation, and later proved a vigorous leaven in its life, pregnant of great changes.

Not only had frontiers and external forms changed: the social and political conditions of most European nations were also profoundly modified.

To return to our special subject, however. Very few of the countries of Europe were found, in 1815, after the fall of Napoleon,

to possess representative institutions. The few were: England—or rather Great Britain and Ireland—where no modification had taken place; Sweden, where the Orders in 1809 had recovered the legislative and controlling power of which absolutism had robbed them; Norway, where the dissolution of the secular Union with Denmark had given the nation an opportunity of establishing a Constitution adapted to the democratic social conditions of the people; France and the Netherlands, where the restored dynasties found it prudent to secure their domination through the granting of Constitutions; and Switzerland, where, in some cantons at least, a representative system prevailed, while in others the direct popular rule, inherited from an earlier age, still existed. In Hungary, in Poland, and in Finland there were Constitutions; but they existed, practically speaking, only on paper. The Kingdom of Poland, where the Diet had a semblance of life from 1815 to 1830, disappeared completely later on, even in name (1867).

The other European States remained autocratic. Meanwhile the revolutionary movement in Europe had provoked a great upheaval in Latin America, where a series of revolutions created a great number of independent States out of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. One of them, the Portuguese colony of Brazil, adopted a monarchical Constitution, to become a Republic only some decades later, in 1889. All the Spanish colonies became Republics. In the chequered history of their careers, all these States have kept the semblance at least of a representative, and even an advanced democratic, system of government, though in reality they have very often been under the despotic sway of a military dictator.

Establishment of European Constitutions, 1815–80.—Autocratic Europe was not allowed a prolonged rest: succeeding revolutions, of which it is superfluous to give the details here, destroyed the fabric of despotism in reiterated shocks. Sometimes, even, constitutional life was established without any revolution at all,* as in several of the States of South Germany in the years from 1816 to 1819. Greece, in 1829, and Belgium, in 1830, won national independence and subsequently established a representative form of government. In Spain and in Portugal Constitutions were granted in the thirties, after military upheavals, while Switzerland, through a series of changes, arrived at its present democratic régime in federal as well as cantonal affairs.

For the leading States of Central Europe, the great revolutions of 1848 were the beginning of profound reforms. When the strong tide of revolution had subsided in 1851, it seemed, indeed, as if next to nothing were changed. Germany was still divided; Austria had regained its commanding position; and Italy still consisted

of a motley collection of petty principalities, with Austria as the dominating power. Only in Denmark had autocracy given way to a democratic Constitution. In two States, however, besides Denmark, political changes of profound significance had taken place. In Sardinia a Constitution had been granted, and in Prussia the King had been forced to make the same concession. These Constitutions became the starting-point of far-reaching developments. Sardinia took the lead in the struggle for Italian unity, extending the sway of its representative institutions to the other parts of the peninsula, as they were added to its own possessions, and at last became the Kingdom of Italy. Prussia, some years later, followed this example, and in its struggle with Austria made itself the champion of representative institutions. And when, in 1866, Prussia and Sardinia had combined for the final struggle against Austria, and Austria had been conquered, the first consequence was the establishment, in the dual Hapsburg monarchy, of a representative system of government.

The various Christian States which have successively issued from the Ottoman Empire have followed the same line of development: Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria.

In 1880 there were in Europe only two important States with autocratic Constitutions—Russia and Turkey. In America there was not a single State without representative institutions, and in Asia one State, Japan, had imitated the European States and established a Constitution in 1889. It should not be forgotten, too, that a whole series of self-governing British colonies had organised themselves on a representative basis.

Recent Advances.—Broadly speaking, no profound change took place in this domain during the twenty-five years between 1880 and 1905. It is true that during this period, as during the preceding ones, representative institutions assumed a more and more pronounced democratic character: the suffrage was extended to a greater number of citizens; and the power of popular and representative institutions became greater as against that of the sovereign or the aristocracy. But during these twenty-five years no single state changed its autocratic for a representative régime.

From 1905 begins a new era in this respect, an era which has its starting-point in the Russo-Japanese War. These developments are still present in our minds, and the fates of the several countries concerned will, moreover, form the subject of separate papers in this Congress. It will therefore be sufficient here to recall the main points in the evolution considered as a whole.

The Russo-Japanese War influenced in two ways the evolution which we are endeavouring to trace. It gave a strong impetus to

the movement for reform in Russia itself, and ultimately it provoked the institution of a representative chamber in that country—a Duma and a Council of Empire, forming together the Russian Parliament.

On the other hand, the victory of the Japanese over one of the great Powers of Europe evoked a movement of political reform in the Asiatic world. In 1906 a revolutionary upheaval forced the Persian Shah to grant a Constitution, and in 1908 a peaceful revolution, led by the party of Young Turks, under the inspiration of the Committee of Union and Progress, made an end of the despotic rule of the Sultan, and established a constitutional and parliamentary régime. The last few months have shown how serious are the forces at work in the Chinese Empire for the same end, and both in India and Egypt native parties are working in various ways for the establishment of popular and representative institutions. In India a small beginning has been made, and the native population is being initiated to the use of representative institutions.

There is little doubt that this movement, which has evidently a very pronounced character, and asserts itself with growing force in most of the ancient countries which are generally described as *Oriental*, will go on until it reaches its logical conclusion, as it has done in European countries. It is a development of the profoundest interest to every student of political problems, and it will perhaps be desirable to say a few words both of the dangers or risks, and of the promises, which it contains.

Dangers and Promises.—I think I ought first of all to point out the seriousness of the special problem with which all these young movements in favour of representative institutions are confronted. It is this. They enter on the path of political evolution at a time when the more progressive nations have led a political life for generations, perhaps for centuries, and have therefore reached a highly developed stage in the extension of both popular and parliamentary liberties. It is quite natural that the younger nations, bent on imitating their models, should be disposed to pass at one single bound to the same advanced stage, neglecting the intermediate steps, and forgetting that political life presents special difficulties which are only overcome under certain conditions. It is true that the art of politics is only acquired in the process of governing, and it is far from the intention of the present writer to lay down any hard-and-fast rule according to which political institutions should be granted to a people. On the contrary, I should be disposed to say that it is precisely the demand for political liberty which gives the best proof of the need to establish it. On the other hand, nobody will disagree with the statement

that a serious risk will always be involved when a nation passes from autocracy to a very advanced stage of political liberty; either as to popular rights—suffrage, liberty of the Press, freedom of association, &c.—or as to the influence of the representative system on government and administration.

Especially in the latter respect, *i.e.*, the influence on the administration, the difficulties are very great. There is no doubt that autocracy, if it can be freed from its grave defects, its temptation to commit capricious and arbitrary acts, presents great advantages for an efficient and powerful administration. A strong will and a strong hand are essential here. As a rule a long education will be necessary to attain the same degree of efficiency under popular government.

There is yet another great danger or risk which I think should be pointed out in this connection, a risk which it is natural to dwell on at such a Congress as this. I am thinking of the strengthening, the intensification sometimes, of nationalist sentiments and prejudices which very often follow the creation of representative institutions within a State.

This intensification manifests itself in two ways. Most of the Empires which have adopted representative institutions during the last few years are far from homogeneous in their ethnic composition. Russia or Turkey, not to speak of China, embraces several distinct nationalities. Very often in these countries autocracy alone was able, or thought itself able, to retain power, by an appeal to nationalist sentiment, making a pretext of the hatred of foreign peoples, within or without the frontiers of the Empire, to avert attention from what was not as it should be in internal affairs.

It seems, unfortunately, that this method has not been abandoned with the abandonment of autocratic rule. Nay, nationalism even appears in the new conditions to have a more legitimate character, because it is backed up by a popular force and is more than the expression of a despot's whims. Since nationalism is, by its very definition, a simple and unreflecting sentiment, it appeals to the least instructed, and it should not be a matter of surprise that it often arises in the first stages of a new democracy.

It was said above that it manifests itself in two ways. It may appear as the determination of the ruling caste to subject and dominate foreign elements within the State, or as a hatred of the foreigner without. It should be expressly observed that in neither form is this feeling a new phenomenon, characteristic only of the empires with which we are now concerned. On the contrary, in this respect it may be said that such societies are following the standards of European civilisation, though not its highest standards. I think

it, however, only fair to add that, if Europeans have suffered somewhat from the general hatred of the foreigner that is found in these Oriental countries, they are only reaping what has been freely sown, in action and in speech, by themselves or by their ancestors.

But if the prevailing tendency towards popular representation, or parliamentary rule, is pregnant with grave problems, it is no less rich in great promise.

There is, firstly, a general aspect of this advance on which I need only say a very few words. We have seen that the political progress of our time has chiefly manifested itself among what are called the Oriental nations. Until recently these nations were regarded as evidently inferior, because they were supposed to be incapable of self-government. The exception of Japan was there only to confirm the general rule. Otherwise "Asiatic despotism" used to be words indissolubly linked together. The introduction of parliamentary institutions, not only in one but in several Oriental countries, removes this prejudice and bridges the gulf between East and West.

Next comes the beneficent influence of representative institutions in a nation's life. It may safely be said that parliamentary rule is of less importance, perhaps, in its direct bearing on the policy and government of the peoples concerned than in its wider moral aspect. Parliamentary rule is above all things a great *educational* force. Resting on and combined with local autonomy, or local self-government on a representative basis, it is the most powerful emancipating agency within our reach—greater than the school, greater even than the best means of communication. It is true that national and racial prejudices acquire a great force in the first stages of political development; but if the representative institutions of a country are not exclusively and deliberately based on the domination of a single nation or caste, if the Constitution allows also the representatives of the minor nationalities within the empire to meet and to work in Parliament, there can be no doubt as to the final outcome.

The first, the elementary, condition of a good understanding is knowledge. Through co-operation, even through the struggles within the different parliaments, the representatives of different nations or races will be led on step by step, though it be through fear or hate, to mutual respect. Therefore I hold that, more especially from the point of view which distinguishes this Congress, the present decided tendency towards parliamentary rule is one of great promise.

There will be a natural desire in this Congress, apart from political considerations, that all nationalities should have the

opportunity of meeting within the parliaments of the States to which they belong on a footing of perfect equality. No colour-line, no language or nation-line, can be tolerated, if the object of this Congress is to be attained—*i.e.*, a fuller understanding, the most friendly feeling, and a heartier co-operation.

I think this argument may perhaps be carried a little farther. Parliamentary life seems to work in the long run against national prejudice, not only within the single State, but also in foreign affairs. The parliamentarians, as representatives of the people, will have a stronger sense of their responsibility in the decision and the control of peace and war; they will be more anxious than the autocrat, or his minister, or the clique influencing either, to avoid international complications. Kant long ago made it a condition for the establishment of universal peace that the different nations should have attained self-government. The educative force of parliamentary institutions will also tend to strengthen the wish to learn from other nations, and to develop a free interchange of goods and intercourse with them. All this makes for internationalisation. European life is already international to a large extent. With the East coming into line with the West—as I have shown above—the conditions have been created for a general human advance which could not have been thought possible before our time. Even the boldest designs of international organisation had to face the difficulty that there were certain barbarians, or a “yellow peril,” outside the pale of civilised and organised international society. It is not the progress of political institutions alone which now renders a world-wide organisation conceivable; material progress, mechanical inventions in industry and in the means of communication, are still more important. What makes this development so hopeful is that *all* these forces are working in the same direction.

Tendencies towards Parliamentary Rule in International Affairs.

—In this connection it will be natural to add a few words as to the tendency of the last twenty or thirty years to apply the representative system even to a larger area than that of the national empires. Some of these are, indeed, already of a world-wide character, uniting within their bounds populations living under very different conditions. The problem of conciliating autonomy with unity has in these cases been solved through *federation*. The United States of America is the most interesting instance in point, for they have succeeded in assuring to each of the forty-five States of which the Union is composed full autonomy in their own affairs as well as an equal share in the representation in the Senate, while the differences between the States are controlled by the composition of the House of Representatives.

It is only natural that the idea of organising a wider political society, embracing all the States of the world, should proceed on these lines. As yet, however, nothing has been done officially in this respect. The two Peace Conferences, which met at the Hague in 1899 and 1907, were composed exclusively of Government Delegates, the delegates of all countries possessing equal votes. Here, then, the principle of popular representation through election was not recognised at all.

There exists, however, an international institution which contains the germ of a representative institution, though as yet it has no official standing. It is the *Interparliamentary Union*, and some words on the organisation and aims of this institution may be considered appropriate in this connection.

The Interparliamentary Union was founded at the World's Fair in Paris, in 1889, through the initiative of an Englishman, Sir William Randal Cremer (d. 1908) with the hearty co-operation of a Frenchman, M. Frédéric Passy, the well-known economist and philanthropist. The Union was founded with a rather limited scope, that of promoting the practice of arbitration in the settlement of international differences. It has held a series of Conferences in the different European capitals, the last, the sixteenth, being held at Brussels last summer. The Conferences have gained an increasing number of adhesions, and have sometimes had the character of great demonstrations in favour of international peace and goodwill. This was especially the case with the Conference in London, 1906, and in Berlin, 1908. At each of these notable gatherings there met more than six hundred parliamentarians, representing upwards of twenty different nationalities.

After some years of action, without any definite organisation, the Union in 1892 organised itself in national groups, with a common representation in the Interparliamentary Bureau, or Council, as it was afterwards called. The headquarters were first fixed at Berne, but in 1909 they were transferred to Brussels. At that time a great change took place in the position of the Union. Since 1909 it has received subsidies from various Governments, and thus has, so to speak, won an official position. It should be said, however, that the Conferences of the Union have no *organised* representative character. In some countries the parliamentary groups, or even Parliament itself, appoints delegates to the sessions of the Union. This, however, is as yet an exception. Generally the members of each Conference meet only as private parliamentarians, and on their own account; but, as they belong to different political parties, they may be said to represent fairly well the assemblies of which they are members.

The chief aim of the Union is still to promote international arbitration, besides discussing questions of public International Law (Statutes, art. 1). There can be no doubt as to the great influence of the Union in this province. It has contributed more than any other agency to the extensive use of arbitration during recent years. The code of the Permanent Arbitration Court at the Hague rests on a plan outlined by one Interparliamentary Conference, while the calling of the Second Peace Conference at the Hague is due to the initiative of another.

No existing institution offers such excellent opportunities for promoting the great object of the present Races Congress. Here the responsible, elected representatives can meet and exchange opinions, discuss the large problems which divide them, and try to arrive at conclusions which may give at least partial satisfaction. And this will be still more true when, as may be foreseen, the Union extends its aim and admits the discussion, not only of problems of a juridical character, but also of other international questions of general interest. The Conferences will then represent very nearly an International Parliament, and only its voluntary organisation will debar it from being really the Parliament of Man.

I do not think that the International Parliament of the future, which is no doubt coming, will lay down a common law for mankind, except in certain restricted departments which are really common to all.

This International Parliament will chiefly favour the parallel development of national legislation and will endeavour to bring about the unification of law in those respects in which it is feasible and desirable. I do not see any ideal in international uniformity. On the contrary, national and racial diversity is in my opinion a condition of progress and life. The very word *international* has the word *national* as one of its component parts, as an essential condition of its meaning.

[Paper submitted in English.]

CHINA

By WU TING-FANG, LL.D.,

Late Chinese Minister to United States of America, Mexico, Peru, and Cuba; ex-Vice-President of Foreign Office, &c., in Peking; Member of the Hague Court.

IT is an undisputed fact that no existing country in the world has a more ancient history than China, and that her civilisation dates from the earliest times. Like other nations, she has her legends, which purport to have arisen half a million years ago, but from the lack of

authentic records little credence can be attached to such claim. The accession of the Emperor Fuk-Hi, 2953 B.C., is, however, recorded in the Chinese annals, and with him begins the period known amongst the Chinese as "High Antiquity." From that epoch dates the succession of dynasties down to the present time ; and the names of the different rulers, their reigns and the principal events happening in each, are recorded in Chinese history.

Her civilisation may justly be described as the most venerable in existence. It was founded in the remotest period of antiquity, and developed under her own peculiar system of ethics, her own social and moral code, without aid from extraneous sources. This is partly due to her geographical position, but chiefly to the homogeneity of her people, all of whom, with a few unimportant exceptions, belong to the same race, use the same language, have a common religion and literature, and are governed by practically the same system of laws, morals, and customs. It is quite beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in detail the various stages of China's civilisation, but a general view of it may, perhaps, be obtained from the following four different points of view.

1. *Religious*.—From time immemorial the Chinese appear to have had definite religious beliefs. They had clear ideas of a Godhead, a supreme being ruling over the universe. He was designated the "Heavenly King," or "Supreme God," by whose decree the destiny of every creature or thing was supposed to be fixed. He was represented as both merciful and just, and, while rewarding the good and punishing the wicked, he was not indisposed to temper justice with mercy. Consequently, he was feared, revered, and worshipped by all, from the Emperor down to the peasant. Other gods were admitted and worshipped ; but they were regarded as ministers, so to speak, of the Heavenly King, who appointed them to various offices, in much the same way as the Emperor appointed his officials to rule over his empire. This kind of religious belief persists to the present day, especially among the educated classes, and has exerted a strong and beneficial influence on the civilisation of China, in spite of the mystic, and frequently idolatrous, doctrines and creeds introduced by the so-called Taoists and Buddhists during the Middle Ages of Chinese history.

2. *Social and Moral*.—The Chinese had their own social and moral code ages ago, and scores of centuries have passed away without any material change in it. There are five degrees of relationship recognised by the code, and each degree has its prescribed duties, responsibilities, and rights. First comes the relationship between the sovereign and his subjects. The former is charged with the loving and benevolent care of his people, while the latter are

enjoined to obey and serve their king with loyalty and faithfulness. Parents and children come next. "Honour thy father and thy mother" was, and is, as much a divine commandment with the Chinese as with the Hebrews; and under the heading of "filial piety" all the offspring of a family are bound by an inflexible law to yield obedience and love to their progenitors. Parents are not without obligations to their children. They have to cherish, educate, and maintain them, and to provide for their future welfare. It may be said that in no other country is the family-tie held more sacred than in China. The next relationship is that of husbands and wives; and, as some misapprehension exists concerning the status of women and the practice of polygamy in China, it may be well to dwell at greater length on this relationship. A husband is bound to treat his wife with great consideration and courtesy, and to cherish and provide for her, while the wife is required to love and obey her spouse. A man is permitted by law to have one wife only, and the wife one husband. It is incorrect to say that the Chinese are polygamous, since the marriage of more than one wife is treated as an offence in Statute-law, and is punishable by heavy penalties, and the second marriage is declared null and void. As a concession to human weakness, however, and especially for the humane purpose of providing for the unfortunate issue of unmarried women and securing the continuation of the family-line on the male side, the law, by a fiction, recognises the status of children born in concubinage, and admits them to become members of the families as if they were born in wedlock. This legal indulgence has, in course of time, led to much abuse, and has given the impression that a Chinese can have as many wives as he desires. As a matter of fact, the so-called secondary wife is not recognised by law, and has no legal status in a Chinese family. As to the present position of women there is also some misconception. To those who are well acquainted with the family life of the Chinese, the position of Chinese women does not seem much lower than that now attained by the majority of their sisters in the West. Within the Chinese home their reign is supreme. As Empresses, mothers, wives, and sisters they usually obtain their due share of honour, power, homage, affection, and respect. Their education, even in former times, was not entirely neglected, and, besides literature, they were early instructed in needlework and household management, in order to fit them to become effective helpmates of their future husbands. Since the beginning of the national reform movement within the last few years many public as well as private schools for girls have been established. The custom of the seclusion of women is being gradually abandoned, and they now enjoy as much liberty and freedom as their Western sisters.

The relationship between the older and younger members of the family forms the fourth degree, and rules have been framed for the regulation of their conduct toward each other. The Chinese exact from the younger members great respect and reverence for their elders, who, in turn, are enjoined to treat their juniors with kindness and courtesy. This rule is enforced, not only in families, but in all the village-communities throughout the empire. Hence in every hamlet or country-place a council of elders is generally elected to deal with local affairs, and its decisions on matters referred to it have usually the force and authority of law. The officials interfere very little with their findings, and thus a vast amount of time is saved, and good order maintained, with little expense and trouble to the Government. This method of local government by the gentry and elders has been, and is, of the greatest utility and benefit. It forms the nucleus of local self-government, and the foundation of parliamentary rule.

The last and fifth degree of relationship is that between friends and others with whom one associates, and the requirements of the social code in this respect are cordiality, sincerity, and faithfulness. Honest dealing in all transactions is secured by this moral law; very few Chinese, except those of the lowest order, dare transgress it. For this reason the commercial integrity of the Chinese is proverbial and is much appreciated by foreigners and natives alike.

3. *Political*.—The government of China from the beginning of its history until now has been patriarchal in character. The theory was that the Emperor was the sire, having received his appointment from Heaven, and his various ministers and officers were the responsible elders and stewards of the various departments, provinces, and districts. For many centuries the occupant of the Imperial throne held his high office for life, and at his demise or retirement some able and virtuous minister was chosen, either by the Emperor himself or by the people or their representatives, as his successor. As the government was for the benefit of the people, the Emperor was in some instances compelled to resign, or was forcibly removed, if his reign turned to their detriment. The history of China contains several instances in which these drastic measures were taken to remove unjust rulers. In 1766 B.C., Ch'eng-t'ang, founder of the Shang dynasty, banished the wicked ruler Kieh, and in 1122 B.C. Wu Wang, of the Chow dynasty, deposed the cruel King Chou. The rare occurrence of such incidents was due to the comparative soundness of the government and wisdom of the rulers, and to the institution of a peculiar system of strict surveillance and mutual responsibility among all classes of the people, which had the effect of deterring them from any interference in government affairs that might involve them and their relations in trouble. Since the advent

of foreigners into China, the establishment of foreign consulates in different ports, and the acquaintance with foreign officials, merchants, and missionaries, the Chinese have gradually learned the more liberal systems of government prevalent in Europe and America. As a consequence, within the last few years, the officials and the people have shown an eager desire for reform in various directions. This has led the people to take a more active interest in municipal and imperial affairs, and in some instances they have not hesitated to send remonstrances against governmental measures or actions which they looked upon as unwise and injurious. A few years ago, in compliance with the express wishes of the people, imperial edicts were issued promising constitutional government and the formation of a national parliament in ten years. Preparations are being made for carrying out this promise. Local assemblies, composed of delegates from different districts, have been formed, and meetings are held periodically to discuss matters of local or provincial interest. A senate, composed of nobles, officials, and men of distinction in science, literature, or commerce, has lately been established in Peking. The formation of a responsible cabinet has recently been urged by the public, and the period of ten years fixed before the inauguration of a parliament has been considered too long. Yielding to public opinion and to the representations of a majority of the provincial Viceroys and Governors, and of the ministers in Peking, the Government issued an Imperial Edict on November 4, 1910, changing the date for the establishment of the Parliament to the fifth year of Hsuant'ung, the year 1913, and decreeing that the official system be reorganised, a cabinet formed, a code of constitutional law framed, and the rules and regulations governing Parliament and the election of members of the Upper and Lower Houses, and other necessary constitutional reforms, be prepared and put into force before the assembling of Parliament. Thus it is hoped that in two years' time a constitutional Government and a Parliament will be in existence in this ancient empire.

4. *Educational*.—The instruction of the young had in the earliest times engaged the attention of Chinese educators. Besides teaching their youths polite literature and other branches of learning, they gave them moral training of a high order. The curriculum embraces mathematics, mechanics, painting, and music, athletic exercises, such as fencing, horse-riding, driving, archery, &c. As a result the Chinese led the world in polite literature, in inventive and mechanical genius, and in fine arts. But in the course of time some of these useful subjects were neglected, or omitted from the curriculum, and, instead of improving, the educational system deteriorated considerably. Since the national reform movement, however, the education

of the young has engrossed the serious attention of officials and people, and energetic steps have been taken to improve the educational system and to train boys and girls in all useful subjects along modern lines.

Language.—An international language is sadly needed in these days of free communication and commerce throughout the world. This want is much more felt by Orientals than Occidentals. A Briton or an American, after learning one foreign language, such as French, will be able to travel in Europe or elsewhere, and make himself understood without difficulty. With the Oriental the case is different. Besides his own, he has to study at least two languages before he can make his wishes known when he travels abroad. The task of an Oriental when learning a European language is also much harder than that of an Occidental. People of different nations frequently quarrel because they do not understand each other's feelings and motives; if they could converse in one language, many disputes might be easily settled. This will be appreciated by any one who has had dealings with foreigners. I would, therefore, strongly urge the adoption of an international language, which would greatly help to promote a good understanding between all nations.

In China and other Eastern countries English is more generally spoken than any other foreign language. There is, however, much room for improvement in the English language. There are no fixed rules, or there are many exceptions to the rules, for its pronunciation, and the irregular and eccentric way of spelling and accentuation is an almost insuperable difficulty for a foreigner. In order to adapt it for more general use, the useless and mute letters in words should be eliminated and the rules of pronunciation and accentuation should be uniform. I commend this subject to the favourable consideration of the British and American educators, and others interested in education, who would confer a great boon if they would reform the English language. The Spanish, being simpler in construction and pronunciation, is easier to study, and doubtless it would be welcomed by many if it were selected as a medium for international communication. To meet the international difficulty, I would propose that an international congress, composed of two or three delegates from each nation in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa, be held, and that it be authorised to decide by a majority of votes upon one language, whether living or dead, for universal use.

Inter-racial Marriage.—With regard to the question of inter-racial marriage, in my opinion the principle is excellent, though I fear it is not easy to carry out. Broadly speaking, it is proper that Occidentals and Orientals should inter-marry, as this would be the best means of diffusing knowledge and creating ties of relationship

and friendship. But some of our customs, habits, and modes of living, though excellent in themselves, are different from those of Western countries, and may not be agreeable to Occidental people. Within the last few years the people of China, especially those on the coast, have been adopting some of the Western habits and ways of living. It is not impossible that these persons will make good partners for life with Westerners ; in fact, there are cases of mixed marriages which have turned out to be happy. I am inclined to the opinion that when a nation has a large number of its people who marry with foreigners, it is a sign of progress. It has been proved that children inherit the traits of their parents, and, as the Chinese are noted for their patience, perseverance, honesty, and industry, these characters will naturally be imparted to the eurasian children, who will have the good points from both sides.

That fair play and mutual consideration should be the guiding principle of nations as well as individuals is not only recognised in Europe and America, but is admitted and practised in China also. Circumstances, it is true, are not the same there as in Europe and America ; but, making every allowance for the difference, the principle of justice should not be violated. China had isolated herself for many centuries, and had little, if any, intercourse with foreign nations. Her attitude was that her country was large, her people were industrious, and her soil so rich, that its productions were sufficient for the support of her people. Thus the Imperial Government did not encourage the people to go abroad, and the people, on their part, were content to remain at home. But China was not allowed to continue in her secluded position. As the population of Europe rapidly increased, the enterprising spirit of Europeans naturally led them to seek new fields, and they asked that the door of China should be opened for them for purposes of trade. China at that time did not see the justice of their demand, as she at that time considered that she could do what she pleased with her own country. But her policy was disregarded. It was argued that no nation should be allowed to isolate herself. I need not detail the various collisions and disputes which happened ; it is sufficient to say that, as a result, force was used to compel China to admit foreign trade and commerce. China was substantially told that her national door must be opened to all foreigners to enter for purposes of trade, religion, and other legitimate business ; her people must be left free to trade with foreigners, and to embrace any religion they might choose, without let or hindrance. She was also told that her people could freely trade, reside, and become citizens abroad. She was therefore compelled to make treaties with foreign nations, admitting their respective subjects and citizens to come to

China to reside, trade, and preach the Christian religion; and, being ignorant of the tariff laws of foreign countries, she was led to consent to the levying of a duty on the import and export of goods to and from China on a uniform scale of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*.

For many years after the treaties had been concluded, the Chinese people did not take advantage of the privilege of going abroad, nor did the Imperial Government encourage them to do so, as it was considered dangerous to cross the ocean. The Chinese, however, were known to be honest, steady, patient, and hard-working people, and immigration officers and agents were sent to the southern part of China to obtain labourers for those countries which were in need of workmen. As a result a large number of labourers emigrated under contract to those countries, and were employed in various kinds of work, such as cultivating plantations, &c. They were found to be extremely useful, and so great was the demand that immigration agents in China were instructed to obtain as many as possible. High premiums were offered for procuring emigrants; unfair and fraudulent means were used by unscrupulous sub-agents; and many peasants and others were enticed and kidnapped. These were the first steps taken to induce Chinese labourers to go to Western countries. If no such steps had been taken, I feel sure that no Chinese labourers would have gone so many thousands of miles in search of work. But the first Chinese workmen in foreign countries, discovering that there was a great field for their compatriots, naturally persuaded their friends and relatives to join them. This accounts for the number of Chinese labourers going abroad to seek their fortunes. It should, however, be remembered that the first Chinese emigrants came from a few districts in the Canton province only, and that therefore all the Chinese labourers in Canada, the United States, Mexico, and South America are natives of the Canton province only. If Chinese labourers were allowed to go, say, to America, without restriction, which is unlikely, it may be regarded as certain that no Chinese from other provinces than that of Canton would emigrate. At the present moment there is no restrictive law against Chinese labourers coming to any of the European countries, yet none are found competing with European workmen, nor is there any danger whatever of Chinese labourers emigrating to that Continent. This should give food for reflection to those statesmen and others who are interested in the question. If my advice were asked, I would suggest that a commission composed of delegates from the countries interested in the subject should meet. I feel confident that by impartial investigation and fair discussion, a satisfactory solution of the whole question would be found. At present the argument of the nations

who have changed their policy is practically reduced to this: "It is true that when we found we needed the services of Chinese labourers, we did invite them to come; but now, on account of the opposition of the labour unions, whose votes we cannot afford to lose, who are jealous of the patience, perseverance, and industrious and economical habits of the Chinese emigrants, and fear their competition, we have deemed it advisable to exclude them." This sort of reasoning is certainly not logical. China, in her present peculiar position, is physically unable to resist; but such a state of things is inconsistent with the laudable object of the Congress—to encourage good understanding and friendly feelings between Occidental and Oriental peoples, and as long as it lasts that object will not be attained.

The acquisition of unexplored territory for cultivation and development is a praiseworthy object; but the newly acquired country should be opened to all. If it is exclusively reserved to the first settlers, it will not confer a benefit on mankind as a whole. For some centuries people who called themselves civilised acquired territory by driving away the natives of the soil and, in some instances, killing them. In cases where the natives were savages and cannibals, the use of force might be deemed expedient; but where the invaded peoples are described as semi-civilised, or have a civilisation of a high order—although in the opinion of Occidentals it may not reach their own standard—the treatment should be different. To take undue advantage of their ignorance of Western methods and, under the pretext of some grievance, to annex their territory, is questionable procedure. It may be true that some wrong had been done; but if a little forbearance had been shown and a proper explanation had been given instead of making dictatorial demands, in many cases the difficulty might have been amicably settled.

In connection with this subject I would refer to the "White Policy," which, I regret to find, is advocated in some influential quarters. It is said that some countries should be reserved exclusively for white people, and that no race of another colour should be permitted there. When such a doctrine is openly approved by statesmen in the West, the yellow or coloured race should in fairness be allowed to act upon it themselves. Patriotism is an excellent quality; but to preach the dogma of colour, race, or nationalism is a matter of grave international importance, and should not be handled without serious consideration. If such a doctrine should spread and be generally followed, men would become more narrow-minded than ever, and would not hesitate to take undue advantage of peoples of other colour or race whenever an opportunity occurred. Altruism would certainly disappear. Instead of friendly

feelings and hearty co-operation existing between Occidental and Oriental peoples, there would be feelings of distrust, ill-will, and animosity towards each other ; constant friction and disputes would take place, and might ultimately lead to war. I have noticed that this cry of a " White Policy " has been raised, not by the aborigines, who might have some excuse, but by the descendants or settlers who had conquered and, in many cases, killed the aborigines of the country, which they now want to keep for themselves, and by politicians who recently migrated to that country. Is this fair or just? To those who advocate such a policy, and who no doubt call themselves highly civilised people, I would remark that I prefer Chinese civilisation. According to the Chinese civilisation, as interpreted in the Confucian classics, we are taught that " we should treat all who are within the four seas as our brothers and sisters ; and that what you do not want done to yourself you should not do to others." Until racial and national feeling is eliminated from the minds of Occidental peoples, it is to be feared genuine friendship and co-operation between them and Oriental peoples cannot really exist.

I am writing this paper in my unofficial capacity. I wish to state, however, that China and other Eastern nations do not ask for special favours at the hands of Occidental peoples ; but they do expect, and have a right to expect, that their nations and their peoples should be equally and equitably treated, in the manner accorded to Occidental peoples.

I have no doubt that those attending the Congress will discuss the various subjects laid before them impartially and with an open mind. It is by such friendly discussions and personal contact that people gain a knowledge of real facts and arrive at a right conclusion. That this Congress will be productive of good to the world, and that it will not be the last one but only the precursor of many others, is my earnest hope and prayer.

[Paper submitted in English.]

JAPAN

By TONGO TAKEBE, *Bungaku Hakushi*,

*Professor of Sociology in the Imperial University of Tokyo, Associé
of the Institut International de Sociologie ;*

and TERUAKI KOBAYASHI, *Bungaku Shi*,

*Professor of Pedagogics in the Girls' Higher Normal School of Tokyo,
Lecturer on Sociology in the Imperial University of Tokyo.*

I. *Introduction.*—The Japanese Empire, a small island country, long maintained a policy of national isolation, and offered no

opportunity to other nations to make her acquaintance. However, when in the year 1853 the American warships suddenly appeared at Uraga, she decisively changed her three hundred years' policy, opened her doors to all the world, and began to aim at progress. She endeavoured to study and to introduce European and American civilisation, but at the same time to retain her own characteristics, and by this policy the small island country of the Far East has joined the company of the Great Powers. At the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese War, the world finally began to abandon its contemptuous attitude towards our country. Later, at the time of the Boxer insurrection, the world saw that Japan was not inferior to European countries; and, in the late war with one of the strongest nations in Europe, the news of the successive victories of our army and navy surprised every one, and there was abundant praise of our valour and judgment. By degrees the nations of the West began to seek some cause of these successes, and thus all eyes turned to the characteristic civilisation of Japan and the nature of the Japanese people. Christ said, "The tree is known by its fruit." On that principle the world at large seeks to understand the secret of the development of the Japanese Empire of to-day. For the purpose of elucidating this, we have published *The Japanese Nation*, a work in which a scientific account is given of the development of Japanese society from the sociological point of view. In the present paper we shall deal with the same theme, though the limits of our space prevent us from discussing it as fully as in the former work.

The reasons why our country—ruled by the descendants of a single line of monarchs and forming an island country in an advanced state of development in the East—has never invaded other countries, and has never been invaded by them, but had an independent history for three thousand years, are manifold; but we may reduce them to three: firstly, the national constitution at the establishment of the Empire; secondly, the influence of geographical and other natural features; and thirdly, the character of the Japanese people. Let us deal with these divisions.

II. *The National Constitution at the Establishment of the Empire.*—It is a general rule that the first sovereign of a country has sacred power, and that this power is destroyed by war as time goes on. There are few Governments which have been built up without revolution. Japan, however, is an exception in this point. The hereditary line of the first sovereign has never lost power, so that our Emperor has no family name, like the rulers of other countries. This is really very distinctive of our Empire. When we seek the cause of this, we may admit that the remarkable bravery and nobility of character of the first sovereign had a considerable

influence; but the main cause is found in the *ancestor worship* and the *family system*, which have been developed in a high degree in the small world of Japan. Why they have been so developed will be explained in the following divisions dealing with the influence of geographical features, and the assimilation of the constituent races.

Besides these outward characteristics, there is an unseen power which accentuated the difference. This is no other than the strong belief of the nation in its sovereign and in the future of the country. In the beginning, when our country was first established, Amaterasu-ō-Mikami, giving the Three Sacred Treasures to her grandson, said to him: "The glory of the sovereign power shall be as boundless as heaven and earth." This is really, a prediction of the three thousand years of our history, and not even a child ever doubts the truth of the prophecy. Every nation has its own prophecies. Even though the greatest of all, perhaps, are those of the Jews, these are unequal to our prophecy, which refers to all time.

A prophetic utterance is an ideal, a hope; it is, in reality, the expression of a firm faith. The ideal of the Japanese nation has been created by the great prophecy of the goddess, and it has become the belief of the nation, rooted deeply in the mind of the people. In other words, the ancestor worship of the Japanese nation was strengthened by this firm belief, and the belief in turn was greatly assisted by ancestor worship. It has found a moral embodiment in "Shinto" (God's Way), in the national system, the family system, and the unity of the Church and State. Thus in ancient Japan morality was religion, and religion was at the same time politics, so that Japanese society was perfectly harmonised, and the salutary unity in the minds of the people was emphasised and strengthened. One may almost regard the result as miraculous. Pascal, the great French thinker of the seventeenth century, said of human development: "The formal succession of human beings throughout the course of the ages must be regarded as a single individual man, continually living and continually learning." This has been realised in the Japanese Empire, for the Japanese people have worshipped their sovereign as a divine being, and regarded their country as the empire of a god. This faith has had the effect of deepening the loyal and patriotic feelings in the minds of the people; believing in the eternity of Empire and throne, Japanese society was solidly built up, with the Imperial family as its centre. The "Imperial Rescript on Education" and "The Imperial Edict of 1908," which were issued by the present Emperor, most clearly expound the national constitution, and are the creed of the Japanese people. We have no reason to doubt that these edicts will, though the period is so short since they were issued, become

increasingly the basis of the people's faith, and be accepted as a powerful prophecy, just as is that of Amaterasu-ō-Mikami.

III. *Geographical Conditions*.—Our country is an island surrounded by a vast ocean. Open a map and look at the position of our country and you will find in its situation, which lies in the farthest limit of the East, a likeness to that of England, which lies in the extreme boundary of the West. If our country had not been isolated as it is, the bravery and wisdom of the Emperor Jimmu, the Empress Jingo, Kublai Khan, Genghis Khan or Toyotomi Hideyoshi might have given an even more remarkable character to our history, and put Japan in closer relation with the continent. There may be some disadvantage in this circumstance, yet this isolation is the evident reason why Japan is free from those struggles about boundaries and from the wars which harass an avaricious people.

Intercourse with outsiders on the material side has thus been prevented, though intellectual intercourse has long been carried on across the sea; and the foreign ideas which came into the country have strengthened the foundation of our civilisation. This, indeed, may be said to constitute the greatness of the Japanese people, that they, absorbing the neighbouring civilisations of the East along with their own, have fused them together and created the civilisation of the East. Why is Japan, and not India or China, the creator of this civilisation? There is no other reason except the special national conditions and the strong beliefs of the people. The blending of Eastern civilisation was the first step, and our country is beginning to take the second step, which is the blending of the civilisation of the East and the West.

The area of our country is not large; but the length of the coast-line in proportion to the area is unique. The mountains are all steep and lofty, and there is a great diversity from the foot to the summit, so that there are many different kinds of animals and plants. As there are many volcanoes, earthquakes are frequent; yet not only do they do little damage, but, on the contrary, they contribute to the beauty of the scenery of the mountains and lakes, the best known of which are Mount Fuji and Lake Biwa. The rivers, being swift, offer little advantage for traffic; but the scenery about them is charming, aquatic products are abundant, the water-power greatly benefits industry, and the abundance of water offers facilities for irrigation. Moreover, the plains along the rivers are generally fertile, and the deltas at the river-mouths are densely populated. The surrounding seas seldom freeze; they are rich in various kinds of marine products, and the currents make the climate mild. There is, in consequence, abundant rain in Japan, and this greatly promotes the growth of vegetation. It goes without

saying that this vegetation counts for much in the social economy. In short, these geographical circumstances have influenced the development of Japanese civilisation, and also made the people active, and inspired them with a worship of nature. It may be specially noted that the diversity of the climate, the currents which cause great humidity, and the many volcanoes and swift rivers, have made Japanese scenery remarkable for its beauty and grace. The people of Japan could not help being influenced by such an environment. It was almost inevitable that they should love cleanliness, be quick in action, cultivate a peaceful optimism along with the spirit of expansion, and thus stimulate progress and courage, and become a practical people.

IV. *The Nation*.—The question of 'the origin of the ancestors of the Yamato race has long been studied, and is not yet settled. As the difference of race is, however, not a radical difference, the question is not important. The only point to which special attention must be paid is the character of the races which actually make up the Japanese nation, since the chief influence in forming the nation must be ascribed to the peaceful history and the special geographical circumstances of our country.

According to the inquiry made by the Japanese Government in the year 815 A.D., the Japanese people living in Kyōto in those days were divided into three sections: 1. Kōbetsu (Royal family), 2. Shinbetsu (prehistoric family), 3. Banbetsu (naturalised subjects). Kōbetsu is the Royal line which descends from the Emperor Jimmu; Shinbetsu is the line which descends from the gods before the Emperor Jimmu's time; and Banbetsu is the line of those who immigrated from other countries and were naturalised. This last class numbered one-third of the whole population of Kyōto. As this was more than a thousand years ago, Banbetsu must have prospered and increased in the meantime, and people of other nationalities may have been naturalised, so that the Japanese people of the present day are greatly mixed in blood. The Japanese nation may be analysed briefly as follows:—

Japanese nation	{	1. Yamato race	{	Kobetsu	{	Grandson of Amaterasu-ō-Mikami.
				Shinbetsu		Gods of Heaven.
	{	2. People of the Stone Age	{	Banbetsu.	{	Gods of Earth.
		3. Kumaō Haya to				
		4. Tsuchigumo				
		5. Yezo (Ainu)				
		6. Naturalised people from Korea, China, and other countries				

One can easily compare the rate of increase of the population of Japan with that of other countries by looking into any statistical year-book, and we shall not, therefore, go further into this subject.

V. Conclusion.—As we have stated, the national constitution, the geographical conditions, and the nature of the people—which are the chief points of difference between Japan and other countries—are the original causes of the peculiar development of Japan. The political, economic, and educational influences are no more than the external features of those essential agencies. And the only thing which explains all this is Japanese history, which is replete with loyalty and patriotism. The succeeding tides of civilisation came into our country from China and India, and had a great influence on the ideas of the Japanese, yet the original spirit of the people has never been changed, but has only been improved by them, and the three kinds of civilisation have made up the typical Eastern civilisation. Recently, when the tide of European and American civilisation poured in and mingled with the old ideal, Japan set herself the task of framing a new world-civilisation, and the old moral ideas and the new scientific ideas have already been blended and brought into harmony. This new civilisation is really the new Japanese civilisation. The so-called Yamato spirit, or the Bushidō, is only the outcome of the power which has long been growing in the mind of the people. In analysing the nature of the Japanese people which has been formed in this way, one may assign the following elements:—

1. *Nationalism.*—This may also be called patriotism. Patriotism and loyalty are the two radiant points in the nature of the Japanese people, and have really the predominant influence in the country. In some countries, it would seem, the relation of the sovereign to the people is a relation of strength to weakness, not a union of affection. In Japan, on the contrary, the national constitution is no more than a great family system, so that the relation between the sovereign and the subjects is just the same as that between father and sons. What is called individualism has no place in Japan.

2. *Ancestor Worship.*—Ancestor worship within the family tends to accentuate the love of the family name, pride of lineage, and hero worship. This spirit is one of the most essential influences in the formation of the Empire. Though in other countries ancestor worship gradually decays as civilisation advances, in Japan we find just the reverse tendency.

3. *Love of Cleanliness.*—The Japanese people love not only the purity of the body, but also that of the heart. This idea is the pervading principle of Shintō. The love of beauty and glory is inspired also by this sentiment. It is widely known that the

Japanese bathe more frequently than the people of other nations, and that they are remarkable for cleanliness in daily life.

4. *Secularism*.—The Japanese believe that social happiness and all good fortune come from the gods. It is therefore the chief concern of their lives to pray to the gods for their protection. The practice of ancestor worship comes from this idea, and it also leads to the worship of the benefactors of the race.

5. *Optimism*.—While the Japanese adhere to secularism, they are at the same time optimistic. Their country is fertile, the climate mild, the scenery everywhere charming, so that there is nothing to engender the pessimistic feelings which one finds in some other countries. As a result, the Japanese have a strong sense of humour.

6. *Practicalness*.—That the Japanese are practical, and dislike fruitless speculation, may be gathered from the preceding paragraphs. In a country where there is much natural misfortune or oppression the people, in order to avoid bodily pain, seek comfort in the subjective life and indulge in dreamy thoughts. But in a country like Japan, where Nature is generous with her favours, time is not wasted in vain fancies; the people think only of carrying out their duties of supporting themselves and maintaining order in the country.

7. *Love of Nature and Plants*.—The love of nature has certainly been inspired by the beauty of the country. In Japan one sees many vegetable products used in the making of food, dress, and dwellings. Most of the designs that are used in dress and other articles are taken from plants or flowers. The Japanese also love travel.

8. *Love of Simplicity*.—As the climate of Japan is bright and clear, one of the characteristics of the Japanese is simplicity. They are greatly lacking in subtleness and complexity. Their food, dress, and dwellings are all simple. Most of the people never eat meat, and are thus better able to cultivate simplicity. The interest of the Japanese in the tea-room is an excellent illustration of their love of simplicity.

9. *Love of Daintiness*.—The fact that Japan is a small island may have something to do with the people's love of small things. In literature and the fine arts they are very delicate. Their tea-rooms, gardens, and carvings are all small in design. It is much the same in all handiwork that is especially suited to the Japanese people.

10. *Love of Children*.—The climate being gentle, living easy, and the natural products abundant, the Japanese have many children. This has been the case from ancient times. A child is said to be a "treasure" in Japan. And all people, however poor they may be, bring up their many children with tenderness.

11. *The Spirit of Chivalry*.—The spirit of chivalry has exercised a very great influence on the mind of the Japanese ever since the foundation of the country. In feudal days this spirit was inculcated

together with the spirit of loyalty. What is called Bushidō is no other than this spirit of chivalry.

12. *Love of Courage.*—The Japanese are naturally courageous and active. This makes the Japanese face death fearlessly in war, and stand in its presence with calmness and composure. Dr. Baeltz has said that there is a feeling in every Japanese that makes little of life. This courage comes down from ancient days, and was fostered by Buddhism.

13. *Evolution.*—The Japanese are enamoured of progress, though they do not entertain the idea of sudden change or revolutions. In former days, when our ancestors built up the country, they controlled its development with great prudence.

14. *Value of Etiquette.*—The Japanese are very polite. There is a strict etiquette and special code of behaviour for masters and servants, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and husbands and wives. Again, in daily speech and in letters there are many different titles of honour used. The ceremony of taking tea, or arranging flowers and other little accomplishments all aim at the cultivation of politeness.

15. *Love of Peace.*—The Japanese love gentleness and generosity. Bushidō strongly discountenances forwardness, and forbids one to show one's courage unless there is some need for self-defence. They have a saying which means "The undrawn sword is a great honour." In feudal days the knights wore swords, but they regarded as cowards those who drew their swords without some grave cause. The Japanese always loved animals, and in later years, when Buddhism was introduced, the killing of animals was forbidden. Deeds akin to those of the Red Cross Society may be found in our military history of hundreds of years ago. In the battlefield it was never the main object of the Japanese to kill their enemies. Japanese history is full of beautiful stories in this connection. The cry of a Yellow Peril is surely due to ignorance of the national characteristics of our country.

The above is only a brief account. Western civilisation with all its dignity and brilliance has still much to do before it can realise the dream of a perfect humanity; and we venture to say that what is lacking in it may to some extent be supplied by the brighter features of the civilisation which three thousand years of experience have created in the life of this island nation of the Far East.

JAPANESE IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION.

Issued 1890.

"Know ye, Our subjects :

"Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty there-

of. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious ; as friends true ; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all ; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers ; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State ; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne, coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

[Paper submitted in English.]

SHINTOISM

By Dr. GENCHI KATO,

Lecturer on the Science of Religion in the Imperial University of Tokyo.

AS is well known, the Indo-European mode of thinking is pantheistic, both in religion and philosophy, and the idea of naturalistic pantheism culminates in "*Natura sive Deus*," to put it in Spinoza's words, and again, in the noted Buddhistic terminology, "Herbs, trees, and even minerals, are all to be the very Buddha."

In ancient India, the pantheistic expression of thought was really traceable in the Vedic hymns dedicated to the gods Puru'sa and Aditi, and, therefore, also the Mundaka Upanishad says : "Fire is His head, His eyes sun and moon, His ears the regions of the sky, the revealed Veda is His voice, the wind His breath, the Universe His heart, from His feet is the earth."

In Shintoism, the first germ of the pantheistic idea was already discernible even in its crude form of an animistic philosophy, when the *Nihongi* speaks of trees and herbs that have the faculty of speaking like men, and the *Kojiki* speaks of animals and vegetables all coming into being from the very body of the Goddess of Great Food ; for, from what is stated here we can easily get the following equation : The body of the Food-Goddess = natural beings.

Let us illustrate this point by the following quotation from the text : "The Princess-of-Great-Food took out all sorts of dainty things from her nose, her mouth, and her fundarment, and made them up into all sorts of (dishes), which she offered to him. But His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness (Susa-no-o-no-mikoto) watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering up to him filth, and at once killed the Deity Princess-of-Great-Food (Ô-getsu-hime-no-kami). So

the things that were born in the body of the Deity who has been killed were as follows : in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes was born millet, in her nose were born small beans, in her lower parts was born barley, in her fundament were born large beans " (Chamberlain, *Kojiki*, p. 70).

We also read from the *Nihongi* as follows : " So he (Susa-no-o-no-mikoto) plucked out his beard and scattered it. Thereupon cryptomerias were produced. Moreover, he plucked out the hairs of his breast, which became Thuyas. The hairs of his buttocks became Podocarpus. The hairs of his eyebrows became camphor-trees " (Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. i. p. 58).

In the cosmogonic myth of Japan, we find, strictly speaking, no creation, *i.e.*, no *creatio ex nihilo*, but simply production or generation, *i.e.*, procreation or begetting. In the idea of creation, like in the Genesis of the Old Testament, the creator-deity is more or less higher than its creatures, and stands aloof from man and the world, just as the position of the master is somehow or other loftier than that of the servant or slave. On the contrary, if everything is produced from the body of God, and the procreator and the procreated are not different in the last analysis ; in other words, they are not different in kind, but differ only in degree, to put this in the Spinozistic terminology, God = *natura naturans*, the world = *natura naturata*, and Giordano Bruno called them *implicatio* and *explicatio* respectively. From such a point of view the procreation or generation of the world and men from the body of God is nothing but emanation—true, a lower form of emanation in Japanese mythology though it is of a higher philosophical nature in the emanation-theory of the Neo-Platonic School. So, in like manner, in the story of Izanagi (male-god) and Izanami's (female god) begetting of the land, *i.e.*, the world, we can trace an early form of pantheism in Japanese mythology. The description of the *Nihongi* on this point is as follows : " They (the above-mentioned male and female deities) next produced the sea, then the rivers, and then the mountains. They then produced kuku-no-chi, the ancestor of the trees, and kaya-no-hime. After this Izanagi-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto consulted together, saying : " We have now produced the Great-eight-island country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees " (*Nihongi*, vol. i. p. 18). Here we can distinctly see that there lies no great difference between cosmogony and theogony in such a naturalism as is embodied in original Shintoism. Moreover, to the ancient Japanese, serpents, wolves, tigers, crocodiles, and birds, *e.g.*, the cormorant, the crow, &c., are all gods ; and men are also among the number. The *Nihongi* says : " In that land there were numerous Deities which shone with a lustre like that of flies, and evil Deities which buzzed like flies. There were also trees and herbs, all of which

could speak" (vol. i. p. 64). Such an animistic view of Nature as that cultivated among the ancient Japanese easily leads to a crude naturalistic pantheism; hence we are little surprised to hear that the pantheistic Mahāyāna Buddhism easily conquered Shintoism, and both religions were at last completely amalgamated with each other in this land of the Rising Sun; for, in so far as both religions are of a pantheistic nature, original Shintoism may be considered as the aboriginal forerunner of Buddhism at its early stage of nature-religion in this country, and *vice versa* the pantheistic Mahāyāna Buddhism partly introduced into and partly developed here in Japan the natural consummation of Shintoism or the way of the Gods, when the general culture of the people reached the high stage of ethico-spiritualistic religion. And the completion of such a religious amalgamation is, in my opinion, due partly to the comprehensive nature of the Greater Vehicle of Buddhism and partly to the original tolerant spirit already existing in the naturalistic pantheism of original Shintoism.

[Paper submitted in English.]

Dr. Riza Tevfik's Paper on "Turkey" will be found in the Appendix.

PERSIA

By HADJI MIRZA YAHYA, *Teheran.*

The sons of Adam are members of one body;
For they are made of one and the same nature;
When Fortune brings distress upon one member,
The peace of all the others is destroyed.
O thou, who art careless of thy fellow's grief,
It fits not thou should'st bear the name of man.

SADI.

THE ancient nation which has played so glorious a part on the stage of the world's history, which for centuries has charmed humanity by the penetration of its philosophic teaching and the delicacy of its poetic feeling, which has yielded up the buried records of its long past to give lustre to the greatest museums in the world—that nation, I say, now adding new aspirations to its old glories, comes to-day, strong in its honour and the indisputable right of antiquity, before a Congress which is one of the most honourable that the world has ever seen.

The gaze of the world's thinkers is focussed to-day upon this radiating centre, where all the great nations will gather for mutual understanding. Never before has such a gathering been possible. Indeed, what greater success could be imagined than that of an interracial Congress destined to link all thinkers in the strong bonds of friendship, inviting each nation to transcend its limitations of national feeling and reach out towards an infinite space whose limits shall be only those of humanity itself; so that under the influence of this high teaching the spirit of man may no longer erect a barrier between Eastern and Western, Asiatic and European, the nations of the New World and the nations of Africa, but may realise that the child is equally unable to endure hunger whether he hail from East or West, that wounds are painful alike to European and African, that the Asiatic no less than the American mother is heart-broken by the death of a child. Thus as the clinging to old customs grows less obstinate and the nations are cleansed of that fanaticism which is so unnecessary to the human spirit and so prolific a source of discord, it will be possible to bring in the radiant era of a new morality which looks on all men as members of one common body, as an integral part of one single Whole, as different renderings of one and the same Original: from affinity of thought and solidarity of international relations a feeling of oneness will gradually dawn, till from the darkness of our blood-thirsty customs—so much nearer the brute than the human—the sun of universal peace shall appear on the horizon of the nations and the differences which will continue to arise in this world shall be easily settled before the tribunal of peace-loving consciences.

It is, of course, true that just as the evolution of matter requires long ages to reach perfection, so the progress of moral principles will require endless time before the final goal of a universal morality can be attained. Still the day will certainly arrive when international friendship will pave the way for an association of mankind under simple conditions in which superfluities have no place. And once this is so, then human nature, beautiful in simplicity and endowed with a new power of magnetic attraction, will draw the scattered 'atoms of humanity together into one single body. And the final achievement of human thought will be the clear setting forth of that unity which is at the heart of the universe. How can this truth admit of doubt? We know, on the one hand, that the Whole possesses in itself the properties of its parts; we see, on the other, that little children, before they are taught to appreciate the usefulness of association, act in opposition to each other so that their intercourse does harm rather than good; while, later on, under the beneficial influence of education, their activities furnish them

with opportunities of friendly competition. Why, then, should we not believe that similarly a day will dawn when humanity, governed by a higher morality than it has yet known, will turn towards this ideal of a well-regulated and friendly life?

Why should we not believe that some day those discords, which are the result of an imperfect moral education, will die out, that the clouds of ignorance will roll away, and the union of mankind be consummated in all its brightness and splendour?

And on that day the nations will be members of one and the same great family and the earth will be their one big home.

Origin of the Persians.—It cannot be made matter of reproach to the Persian people that they have no exact knowledge of their national history, for a nation whose historical documents have been more than once committed to the flames could not know its past any better than they know theirs. Happily, however, though the history written on papyrus or parchment has been entirely destroyed, yet the history engraved upon stones (Takhté Djemchide, Taghé Boustán, &c.) and the evidence obtained through excavations at Susa, Nineveh, and Babylon are still left to us. The records preserved in the Memoirs of the Ancestors were collected in the eleventh century by Firdousi in his "Book of Kings." And apart from such references as are found in the Sacred Writings, there are famous Greek historians, such as Herodotus, Xenophon, and Ctesias who have left behind them all the valuable documentary evidence that they could find relating to this epoch.

Still, as historians hold very different opinions concerning the origin, the branches and the cradle of the Iranian race, we leave the study of these problems to the investigation of specialists. We can, however, affirm that it is a race which has played a very important part in the formation of other races, and if it cannot be regarded as the mother of them all, it can at least, and with a high degree of certainty, be looked upon as their sister. We can consider them as branches of one and the same stock. The Persians of to-day will therefore be very happy if, after long centuries of separation from their ancient kinsfolk, they can again cement the broken ties and strengthen them from day to day.

Customs and Habits of the Persians.—History shows us that the natural customs of the Persian race were good. "The Persians," thus some famous Orientalists have remarked, "imparted their good customs not only to nations with whom they were at peace, but even to those who effected the conquest of their country." Still it must be allowed that various corrupting influences have been at work: the fusion with other races; the formation of different kingdoms; above all, the invasions to which this country has been subject,

whether of foreign foes or of barbarous hordes who ravaged the land on their way to invade Europe; and lastly, the semi-feudal system of government which has been in force for centuries—all these factors have acted disastrously on the customs of the Persians and prevented them from concerning themselves, as they might have done, with the development of their civic responsibilities. Bad government has also had a nefarious influence. Members of the Court, knowing that they could only attain their personal ends by sowing discord among the different sections of the nation, showed unwearying persistence in the pursuit of this policy, the result of which could not be other than intestine strife.

And yet an attentive survey of Persian customs will soon show that these evil influences have not really permeated all classes in the nation, but have acted solely upon those classes which have been more particularly exposed to them. If, then, during these last centuries in which the light of a new civilisation has been shed abroad upon the world, the Persians have failed to keep abreast with the progressive movement and turn it to real advantage, it is because they had had insufficient opportunities of intercourse with European nations, and were, consequently, not in a position to familiarise themselves with European customs. This lack of intercourse was due to the following causes:—

1. The despotic Persian Government considered that international relationships and, consequently, the awakening of the nation to a knowledge of its lawful rights were prejudicial to Government interests. Now the Persian religion itself teaches that Government can only be lawful when it rests its claim on the justice of the sovereign and the free consent of the nation. Since the despotic Government did not, as a rule, comply with these two conditions and was therefore fearful of popular risings and threatened by the opposition of the true representatives of religion, it found itself in a somewhat precarious position. This is why it had fostered the growth of a clerical party with a view to weakening religion and preventing a general uprising. This party, acting in concert with the Government, kept the people in a slavish condition of perpetual degradation and profound ignorance. It further opposed the establishment of good relations with other nations and the study of their language and history on the false assumption that these things were contrary to the teaching of Islam. Islam, in reality, had never countenanced such views; but the general public, misled by false interpretations, were ignorant of the real truths of religion.

2. If the Europeans who visited Persia were official personages, they contented themselves with the accomplishment of their mission, and never became intimate with us in a manner calculated to enlist

our sympathies. On the contrary, some of them were made so conscious of their own power by the weakness of our Government that their behaviour was such as to excite a general, though smothered, indignation. If, on the other hand, they were tourists, the religious considerations referred to above prevented them from entering our homes and becoming acquainted with our real customs. Thus the descriptions they afterwards gave of their journey were sometimes superficial and in many respects very far from true. For the most part their writings were an indictment brought against the Persian nation rather than the description of its customs or the story of its national life; and so far as any echo of them reached Persia, it could tend only to increase the hatred already felt and incline the Persians to believe that all Europeans alike judged them after the same manner.

3. If the Shah or people of the upper classes travelled in Europe, they brought considerable pecuniary loss upon their nation, while yet contributing nothing to the principle of international friendship. Finally, if the Persians who travelled in Europe belonged to the student class, then, through lack either of proper guidance or of a clear vision of their future, they were drawn into the giddy pursuit of pleasure instead of concentrating themselves on study, and when they returned to their own country they unhappily behaved in such a manner as to alienate the sympathy of their countrymen who credited them with possessing Western habits. There have been, however, a few ambassadors and important personages of some enlightenment, and likewise a few students, who have brought back from their European travels contributions worthy of appreciation: such persons have understood how to bring the laws of European nations into touch with the principles of Moslem civilisation, how to spread and foster among the Persians anything that had seemed to them praiseworthy in European customs, and finally how to awaken in them the sense of international relationship.

4. The cause which more than any other has hindered us from seeking friendly relations with Western peoples is that, wedged in as we are between two powerful neighbours, our impressions of European civilisation have often been associated with unpleasant political experiences, a circumstance which has naturally given rise to mistrust.

France, however, and the United States have helped, if only slightly, to diminish this mistrust, the former by means of books and papers which have furthered the development of scientific ideas, the latter by charitable enterprises, such as the foundation of hospitals and schools and the distribution of help to the needy during times of famine.

The Persians have no natural prejudice against the establishment of friendship and a good understanding with civilised nations. Nor is there anything in their customs and habits which would prevent their taking a part in international affairs; for their religious principles, which have more influence than any other factor in determining the standpoint of the general public, are all in favour of democracy, and nullify the advantages of hereditary nobility. "Great and small, noble and plebeian," said the Prophet, "shall be equals among you." Religion, moreover, lays stress on the need for developing civic responsibility: "Let each one of you share in the direction of public affairs," said Mahomet, "and every one who thus directs is responsible." It lays down the principle that the Government should be assisted by a deliberative assembly: "They consulted together regarding their social affairs" (Koran, Surat 243, verse 36).

The religion of the Persians makes monotheism essentially cosmopolitan, and calls for universal peace among its disciples to whatever nationality they may belong: "O followers of the Scriptures, come hearken to this one saying: that all may be equal between us and you, let us agree together to worship only the one God and put naught else on a level with Him" (Koran, Surat 3, verse 57).

It declares the equality of all men, calling to mind that they are all children of the same father and the same mother and that only virtue can give to one man preference over his fellow: "O men, we have created you of one man and one woman; we have distributed you in tribes and families to the end that you may know one another. The worthiest before God is that man from among you who is most virtuous" (Koran, Surat , verse 13).

And lastly, it stands for religious freedom: "Let there be no constraint in religion" (Koran, Surat 2, verse 257). In such principles as these there is, then, nothing which could deter men from entering into international relationships.

And here it may not be irrelevant to mention that the number of religious sects in Persia was often due to political causes. For natural conditions, combined with difficulty of communication, tended to isolate our great thinkers, making intercourse and interchange of ideas impossible to them. Thus each propagated his own ideas separately, without knowing what other people were thinking, and clothed them moreover in a religious garb, because that is the form in which ideas always make the widest and most influential appeal to the Persian people.

Again, with regard to the position of women in Persia: the fact that they must go about veiled, is no obstacle in the path of progress. For in this matter one thing is certain: the rule about veiling applies to parts of the body other than the face and

hands. Moreover, in the villages and among the tribes, the women, far from veiling themselves, go about with face uncovered, live a simple, natural life, help to bear the burdens of the men, taking their part even in the hardest toil and engaging in industrial occupations which often yield very valuable wares, such as carpets, &c. In the towns, the women, though veiled, are by no means unacquainted with household routine and the education of children. They also understand manual occupations which are productive of fine and costly merchandise. And, above all, a new horizon has latterly been opened to them through the establishment of private schools for girls and special educational classes for women.

To turn to another point of view, the softness and subtlety of the Persian language may help to develop and strengthen still further our relations with Western nations. As a matter of fact, Europeans even have learnt to appreciate Persian literature, alike the works of our most famous poets and the translations of certain among them, such as Firdousi, Molevi (Mollahi Roumi), Omar Kayyam, Sadi, Hafiz, and others, into Western languages. Moreover, as it is impossible to bring out in a translation the literary subtleties of the original, those Europeans who have had a special bent for Orientalism have felt the need of a thorough study of Persian literature, and they have been led to introduce the teaching of Persian into certain European schools—a fact which has tended to strengthen our relations with Europe.

At this point I feel compelled to allude to the history of the Persian language and its transformation through the incorporation of Arabic. After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, our language was for more than two centuries almost suppressed by the tongue of the conquerors, and when at last there was an attempt to free it from this domination, it was found to be already interspersed with Arabic words. The Persian scholars rather tended to encourage the admixture; for Arabic, as being the language of their religion, was held in honour and cultivated by them even in preference to their mother-tongue. This is why they chose the language of the Koran for many treatises on science and morals which to-day are regarded as Arabic works. To convince oneself of this, it is only necessary to read the works of the following authors: Sibeveyh, the author of *Alketab*, the best Arabic grammar; the philosopher Pharabi; the medico-philosopher Ibne Sina (Avicenna); the philosopher Abou Ali Maskoveyh; the medical doctor Mohamed Zakarya; the mathematician who was also a philosopher and jurist, Khadjé Nassir-ed-Din; Omar Kayyam; and others.

Here we may fitly quote some verses by the great poets which breathe humanitarian and inter-racial sentiments:—

Firdousi. "Cause not suffering to the ant as she drags the grain along ; for she lives and life is a thing both sweet and fair."

Sadi. "The sons of Adam are members of one body ; for they are made of one and the same nature ; when Fortune brings distress upon one member, the peace of all the others is destroyed. O thou, who art careless of thy fellow's grief, it fits not thou shouldst bear the name of man."

Mollahi Roumi. "Solomon, king of the animals, use thy wisdom and thy divine patience to charm alike all birds, the weak no less than the strong."

Idem. "Thou art sent to preach union—and not to sow discord."

Sanai. "What matter whether the language be Arabic or Syriac, if so be it express the truth ? What matter whether the place be east or west, if only God be worshipped there ?"*

Hafiz. "Thy beauty united with thy gentleness hath conquered the world. Of a truth, it is by union that the world can be conquered."

Omar Kayyam. "If there be no rosary, no praying-carpet, no Sheikh—yet the church-bell and the priest's cross would suffice to guide thy conscience."

Orfi. "So behave towards thy fellow-men, O Orfi, that after thy death the Mussulman may bathe thee with the holy water of Kaaba and the Hindu burn thee in his sacred fire."

Achegh. "Thou has read the Koran, Achegh, and thou knowest the verse, 'Eynema tawallou.' When then the gates of Kaaba are closed, go worship the Eternal in the Church."

Hatef. "In the Church I said to the fair Christian : 'Thou who delightest my heart, explain to me the meaning of the Trinity. How can three personalities (Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) be ascribed to the one God ?' She replied, with a sweet smile : 'Not thus wouldst thou have spoken hadst thou understood the mystery of Unity. The Eternal has shown His face in three mirrors. He does not become three if thou callest Him by three names.' Meantime the bell chimed out. It seemed to say : 'He is unique ; He is alone ; there is one only God.'"

Again, the attitude of mind observable among the Persians of to-day would seem to augur well for the future. Conscious of their own weakness and backwardness as regards modern science and progress, they feel they must follow in the wake of other nations and make up, if possible, for time lost. This is undoubtedly the first step towards progress. With the help, then, of clever engineers and foreign capital, they will try to remove the natural obstacles which at present tend to split up their national life ; to lessen the great distances between their towns by means of railroads ; to utilise wasted sources of water supply (such as the waters of Avaz) ; to fertilise rich tracts of soil at present uncultivated ; and to make hives of the villages by means of the nomad tribes who are a considerable force in the country. Further, they will develop their intellectual relations with the West by inviting professors from Europe and sending students thither, by encouraging

* Here there is the expression "Djabolsa, Djabolga," two famous mythological towns in the East.

* "The East and the West belong to God : whithersoever your glance be turned, you will meet His face" (Koran, Surat 2, verse 109).

the translation of books, and by giving lectures on moral and scientific subjects.

We are in a position to state that of late years—notably since the change of *régime*—public education and journalism have made considerable strides. Let us add that to-day the people are insistently demanding the aid of advisers from neutral European countries, for they understand that the realisation of their hopes is dependent, in large measure, on orderly administration. The careful organisation of the Customs during the last nine years has been a great help in developing international commerce. Statistics show that imports have increased by 50 per cent., and exports by 140 per cent.

Finally, let us say that, sensible of the advantages that will accrue to us, morally and materially, from commercial relations with Europe we are pursuing the policy of the “open door,” though unhappily the Russian Government strongly opposes this policy by imposing heavy duties. There is, however, one little breach in this barrier: I refer to the system of parcel-post which has sensibly increased the traffic between Persia and Europe. And if this barrier could be altogether removed, or even if the duties on traffic could be made less heavy, a day of happiness would dawn for all Persia, for on the one hand she would be able to procure better and cheaper wares, and, on the other, develop her material and moral relations with European countries.

The Change of Régime in Persia and its Causes.—For a long time all the enlightened members of the Persian nation and those who favoured reform blamed the bad Government of the country for its backward state and its powerlessness in the grip of political forces to the north and south. During this period all who were longing to see the resurrection of their country devoted themselves to impressing on the people a real knowledge of their sufferings and their sad condition, and laboured to secure a progressive evolution of the governmental system. But their efforts were not crowned with success, and this for two reasons: in the first place, the despotic Government had found a powerful ally in the clerical party, who helped to stifle every attempt at liberal expansion by using religion as a pretext and treating with suspicion and denunciation all those who showed themselves accessible to ideas of reform. This policy was still further encouraged by what proved to be a disastrous event for the reformers, namely, the appearance of Babism whose adherents were considered to be worthy of death. For under the arbitrary *régime*, few people dared to criticise the proceedings of the Government, and those who made the venture were accused of Babism. Secondly, the people, though suffering from the abuses of the Court, had not yet become so exasperated as to encourage and support the movements of the reformers. Thus, the Government dragged on a miserable

existence under the shelter of its crooked policy : the people, growing accustomed to their scanty and ever-diminishing resources, continued in their age-long torpor, and slumbered without thought of the future.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Imperial Bank (the concession for which had been granted on January 30, 1889), together with the newly founded foreign commercial houses, took the commercial and financial market right out of the hands of the native merchants and bankers, and monopolised it for their own advantage. The circulation of gold coin diminished ; statistics showed a great disproportion between exports and imports. Foreign wares lowered the value of home products, and consequently a number of workmen were thrown out of employment. While resources were diminishing living became steadily dearer. Trade was languishing, and, as a crowning misfortune, the peasants grew poorer daily and the Treasury was empty.

In spite of everything, Nassred-din Chah, who had had a long reign and enjoyed great personal prestige as well as a wide experience, succeeded in covering up the true state of affairs with an outer varnish of order and security. He even succeeded in deceiving his immediate following, pretending that he had set up a special treasury in his private palace and every now and then caused small quantities of gold to be added to it. He contrived to spread abroad the supposition that the State Funds had been removed to the palace. With the exception of a few favourites, no one knew the real condition of the private treasury.

Nasser-ed-Din maintained stability in home affairs by sowing discord and rivalry among the powerful men of the kingdom. He compensated himself for his lack of money by exacting large sums as presents from the governors and seizing a part of the property of rich men who died. He secured his position with regard to foreign powers by secretly fomenting rivalry between his northern and southern neighbours and using every possible means to win their good graces. In a word, the existence of Nasser-ed-Din presented a formidable obstacle to the realisation of the dearest hopes of the progressive party. Thus, after his assassination (May 1, 1896) there was a general reawakening from lethargy and a manifestation of tendencies which had till then lain dormant.

His successor, Mozaffer-ed-Din Chah, a man of good-natured disposition and uncertain health, neither would nor could follow the political example of his father. Other factors also contributed to bring about a change of policy ; the instinctive aversion of the new ruler to the encouragement of the so-called clergy, the pressing needs of the age, the awakening of the national spirit, and the temporary accession to power of certain progressive dignitaries. Thus, thanks to the energy of those who were working for reform, the people began to enjoy educational advantages of which they had been hitherto deprived, and there was a noteworthy advance in intellectual development. New ideas were encouraged ; freedom of the press and the right of free speech were in part secured. On the other hand, as the financial crisis became more acute, two loans were negotiated in Russia (1900 and 1902) on onerous political conditions. But by reason of the bad system of government and the carelessness of those responsible, the money raised by these loans was squandered and spent without result. Moreover, the Russian Bank for Loans (the concession for which was granted on May 3, 1890) swallowed up the greater part of the goods of the population and the credit of the merchants.

This being the state of affairs, the progressive party, convinced though they had been of the necessity for first training up enlightened men who should be capable of tackling the work of purifying and reforming the system of govern-

ment, now found themselves confronted with exceptional circumstances which forced their hand and compelled them to act at once, quite contrary to their original intentions.

The approaching death of Mozaffer-ed-Din Chah, and the prospect of his being succeeded by Mohamed Ali Chah, whose character and bad administration were of no good augury—the financial crisis and the general poverty, the depression of trade, the anxiety of the people about the condition of the State Treasury, the tyranny of the Court—all these considerations, combined with regard for tranquillity at home and abroad, were the decisive factors which precipitated events and caused the new *régime* to be set up before the ground was ready to receive it. As the lower classes were not yet sufficiently enlightened to understand the remedy for their own ills, it was consequently the educated people of the upper class who put themselves at the head of the new movement and piloted the ship to harbour—the people to the realisation of their desires.

Thus was the system of government changed and the new *régime* inaugurated (August 5, 1906), and shortly afterwards Mozaffer-ed-Din Chah died (January 8, 1907).

These events coincided with the reversal of foreign policy in Persia, and she found herself rid of the inconveniences of her neighbours' rivalry only to be more harassed by their concerted action.

In a word, as a consequence of the defective equipment of the public authorities and the animosity and ill-will of Mohamed Ali Chah towards the young Parliament, there ensued a long and painful series of conflicts, culminating in the bombardment and destruction of this Assembly (June 23, 1908). Nevertheless, a group of courageous patriots, among whom Sattar Khan was the central heroic figure, helped by nationalists from every country, kept up a bold resistance to the despotism. Moreover, the true spiritual leaders of the people, who under these circumstances judged it necessary to interfere in the political arena, forbade the payment of taxes to the Government of Mohamed Ali Chah. At the cost of great sacrifice, the nationalist forces reassembled, attacked and took Teheran. Mahomed Ali was dethroned on July 16, 1909, and Sultan Ahmed Chah succeeded him. Parliament reopened on November 15, 1909.

At this point it becomes necessary for me to recapitulate briefly the statements I made at the outset, and to emphasise once again the main purport of this paper. I refer to the alleged xenophobia of which the Persians are accused in some quarters. The allegation may be at the same time confirmed and denied. It may be a confirmation when we observe that the influence and spread of European civilisation in our country have been tainted with political implications, and have thus given rise to public suspicion. On the other hand, a categorical denial may be offered in the sense that there is not, and never has been, among our people any natural hostility to Europeans, who are, after all, of one and the same race with ourselves. And since we are aware that we owe the advent of the new era to philosophic ideas and that, to possess reality and fruitfulness, it must have the practical advantages of European life, such as railways, factories, &c., we are therefore very anxious to avail ourselves of European help and skill by granting concessions that may be useful to those States and nations who have no political designs upon us, allowing them to profit by our resources and the

natural riches of our country. We desire to attract foreign capital so far as it does not imply political interference, to the end that we may develop and strengthen our country and look forward with confidence to the future as we enter on that path of happiness and prosperity which our sister-nations are enjoying.

I may conclude with the statement that the Persians are convinced that there is nothing more profitable for their future welfare than commerce and contact with other countries and the cementing of international relations—intellectual, commercial, and economic. They are, moreover, prepared, by every means in their power, to welcome the material and moral help of foreign countries, provided only that it be free from all political implications.

*[Paper submitted in Persian*and in French.]*

THE BAHAI MOVEMENT

[A CONGRESS designed to bring about a fuller understanding between the peoples of East and West would be incomplete without an account of the Bahai Movement. In 1844 there appeared at Shiraz, in Persia, a youth, Sayyid Ali Muhammad by name, who proclaimed himself the herald of a great spiritual teacher to come. Sayyid Ali Muhammad, known to his followers as the Bab (Gate), soon became renowned throughout Persia for his eloquence and zeal. In 1850 he was shot at Tabriz by order of the Government, who regarded him as a dangerous disturber of the peace. The movement for religious and social reform initiated by the Bab continued, however, to grow rapidly.

In the early sixties a Persian nobleman, known hereafter as Baha'u'llah, proclaimed himself to some of his adherents as the Teacher whose appearance had been prophesied by the Bab. His personality attracted multitudes throughout Persia, including the majority of those who had followed his forerunner. He wrote that God had made all men as the drops of one sea and the leaves of one tree, that all races of mankind were pure, and should work in harmony together. He foresaw a time when unity would be established between all races and creeds. "Have noble thoughts, healthy morals, and hygienic habits," he says. "Be examples to guide all mankind towards its regeneration, and toward the peace of the whole world! . . . Let not a man glory so in this, that he loves his country. Let him rather glory in this, that he loves his kind! These ruinous wars, these fruitless strifes must cease; and the Most Great Peace shall come."

The followers of this movement underwent a bloody persecution at the hands of the orthodox Moslems, the martyrs numbering above 20,000.

In 1867 Baha'u'llah sent a letter to the Pope, to Queen Victoria, and to other crowned heads of Europe, calling upon the nations to put down their armaments and to cause a conference of the Governments to be held. The letters are matters of history.

The Persian Government, fearing the effect of Baha'u'llah's growing influence, exiled him first to Adrianople, and finally, in 1868, by an arrangement with the Turkish authorities, incarcerated him in the fortress city of Acre on the Syrian coast. During his exile he wrote many books, and his influence as a spiritual teacher continued to grow. His principal works are *Hidden Words*

and the *Kitab-i-Akdas*. Baha'u'llah, before his death in 1892, instructed his eldest son, Abbas Effendi, to continue his work and expound his writings. He is widely known by the name of Abdu'l Baha Abbas (*i.e.*, Abbas the Servant of Baha).¹ He remained in confinement at Acre until 1908, when he was released under the Young Turkish Constitution. Since then 'Abdu'l Baha has lived at Haifa, on Mount Carmel.

This movement is not to be regarded as a new religion. Rather is it a world-wide recognition of the underlying unity of religions and peoples, and of the ideals of international peace and good-will. It teaches the equality of the sexes, the duty of every one to serve the community, and the duty of the community to give opportunity for such service—urging men of all religions to live out their faith in unity with their fellow-men and show that behind all expressions of creed there is one religion and one God.

Abdu'l Baha, now sixty-seven years of age, has written many letters and tablets explaining the teaching referred to above. The present writer recently had the privilege of seeing him in Egypt, where he met at his table representatives of the great world faiths—Christians, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists, Zoroastrians.

It is estimated that in Persia alone there are at least two million Bahais. The total number throughout the world must be very considerable (in the United States alone there are several thousand).

Probably about two-thirds of the avowed Bahais are drawn from the Mahomedan world, the remaining third belonging to other great world faiths.

Abdu'l Baha sends the following letter, conveying his greetings to the Congress. It will be noted that the unification of Races is not intended to mean the suppression of their different characteristics in order that they may be blended into one, but would imply that these very differences are necessary to constitute a harmonious whole, and that the duty of this Age is to recognise the possibilities of development within each race in order that, in a spirit of love, mankind the world over may co-operate in working for Universal Peace.—W. T. P.]

LETTER FROM ABDU'L BAHA TO THE FIRST UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS

When in travelling about the world we observe an air of prosperity in any country, we find it to be due to the existence of love and friendship among the people. If, on the contrary, all seems depressed and poverty-stricken, we may feel assured that this is the effect of animosity, and of the absence of union among the inhabitants.

Notwithstanding that such a state of things is obvious to the passing traveller, how often the people themselves continue in the sleep of negligence, or occupy themselves in disputes and differences, and are even ready to slaughter their fellow-men!

Consider thoughtfully the continual integration and disintegration of the phenomenal universe. . . . Unification and constructive combination is the cause of Life. Disunion of particles brings about loss, weakness, dispersion, and decay.

¹ Baha (*Arabic*), "The Ineffable Splendour."

Consider the varieties of flowers in a garden. They seem but to enhance the loveliness of each other. When differences of colour, ideas, and character are found in the human Kingdom, and come under the control of the power of Unity, they too show their essential beauty and perfection.

Rivalry between the different races of mankind was first caused by the struggle for existence among the wild animals. This struggle is no longer necessary : nay, rather ! interdependence and co-operation are seen to produce the highest welfare in nations. The struggle that now continues is caused by prejudice and bigotry.

To-day nothing but the power of the Divine Word, which embraces the Reality of all things, can draw together the minds, hearts, and spirits of the world under the shadow of the heavenly Tree of Unity.

The Light of the Word is now shining on all horizons. Races and nations, with their different creeds, are coming under the influence of the Word of Unity in love and in peace.

The Blessed One, Baha'u'llah, likens the existing world to a tree, and the people to its fruits, blossoms, and leaves. All should be fresh and vigorous, the attainment of their beauty and proportion depending on the love and unity with which they sustain each other and seek the Life eternal. The friends of God should become the manifestors in this world of this mercy and love. They should not dwell on the shortcomings of others. Ceaselessly should they be thinking how they may benefit others and show service and co-operation. Thus should they regard every stranger, putting aside such prejudices and superstitions as might prevent friendly relations.

To-day the noblest person is he who bestows upon his enemy the pearl of generosity, and is a beacon-light to the misguided and the oppressed. This is the command of Baha'u'llah.

O dear friends ! the world is in a warlike condition, and its races are hostile one to the other. The darkness of difference surrounds them, and the light of kindness grows dim. The foundations of society are destroyed and the banners of life and joy are overthrown. The leaders of the people seem to glory in the shedding of blood—Friendship, straightness, and truthfulness are despised. . . .

The call to arbitration, to peace, to love, and to loyalty is the call of Baha'u'llah. His standard floats since fifty years, summoning all of whatever race and creed.

O ye friends of God ! acknowledge this pure light ; direct the people who are in ignorance, chanting the melodies of the Kingdom of God, until the dead body of mankind quickens with a new life.

Guide the people of God. Inspire them to emulate the lives of the holy ones who have gone before. Be ye kind in reality, not in appearance only. Be ye fathers to the orphans, a remedy to the sick, a treasury of wealth to the poor, a protector of the unfortunate.

Where love dwells, there is light ! Where animosity dwells, there is darkness !

O friends of God ! strive to dissipate the darkness and reveal the hidden meanings of things, until their Reality becomes clear and established in the sight of all.

This Congress is one of the greatest of events. It will be for ever to the glory of England that it was established at her capital. It is easy to accept a truth ; but it is difficult to be steadfast in it ; for the tests are many and heavy. It is well seen that the British are firm, and are not lightly turned aside, being neither ready to begin a matter for a little while, nor prone to abandon it for a little reason. Verily, in every undertaking they show firmness.

O ye people ! cause this thing to be not a thing of words, but of deeds. Some Congresses are held only to increase differences. Let it not be so with you. Let your effort be to find harmony. Let Brotherhood be felt and seen among you ; and carry ye its quickening power throughout the world. It is my prayer that the work of the Congress will bear great fruit.

ABDUL BAHÁ ÁBBAS.

[Paper submitted in Persian and in English.]

EAST AND WEST IN INDIA

By the Hon. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E., Poona, India,

Representative of Non-official Members of Bombay Legislature on the Viceroy's Legislative Council, late President of Indian Congress.

THE object of the Universal Races Congress has been described by the organisers to be "to discuss, in the light of modern knowledge and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation." With the commencement of the twentieth century the relations between the East and the West may be

regarded as having entered on a new phase, and it is, I think, in accord with the changed spirit of the times that the West should think of summoning a Congress where the representatives of all races "with developed types of civilisation" "might meet each other face to face and might, in friendly rivalry, further the cause of mutual trust and respect between Occident and Orient." To the people of the East such a desire on the part of the people of the West is naturally a matter of profound interest and of far-reaching significance. The traditional view, so well expressed by the poet, of the changeless and unresisting East, beholding with awe the legions of the West as they thundered past her, bowing low before the storm while the storm lasted and plunging back again in thought when the storm was over, seemed for centuries to encourage—almost invite—unchecked aggression by Western nations in Eastern lands, in utter disregard of the rights or feelings of Eastern peoples. Such aggression, however, could not go on for ever, and the protest of the Eastern world against it, as evidenced by the steady growth of a feeling of national self-respect in different Eastern lands, has now gathered sufficient strength and volume to render its continuance on old lines extremely improbable, if not altogether impossible. The victories of Japan over Russia, the entry of Turkey among constitutionally governed countries, the awakening of China, the spread of the national movement in India, Persia, and Egypt—all point to the necessity of the West revising her conception of the East, revising also the standards by which she has sought in the past to regulate her relations with the East. East and West may now meet on more equal terms than was hitherto possible, and as a first step towards such meeting the value of the Universal Races Congress cannot be over-estimated.

The problem—how to ensure "a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation" between the East and the West—so difficult everywhere, is nowhere else so difficult and so delicate as it is in India. In the case of other countries the contact of the West with the East is largely external only; in India the West has, so to say, entered into the very bone and marrow of the East. For a hundred years now, more or less, India has been under the political sway of England, and the industrial domination of the country has been no less complete than the political. This peculiar relationship introduces into the problem factors of great complexity, and the conflict of interests which it involves has to be harmonised before attempts, made with the object which the Congress has in view, can possess any enduring value or produce solid results.

It is recognised on all sides that the relations between Europeans and Indians in India have grown greatly strained during the last

quarter of a century. And yet Englishmen started with uncommon advantages in India. Owing to India's peculiar development the establishment of British rule, so far from being resented, was actually regarded with feelings of satisfaction, if not enthusiasm, by the people over the greater part of the country. It is true that England never conquered India in the sense in which the word "conquer" is ordinarily used. She did not come to the country as an invader, nor did she fight her battles, when she had to fight them, with armies composed of her own people. The establishment and consolidation of her rule, which undoubtedly is one of the most wonderful phenomena of modern times, was entirely the result of her superior powers of organisation, her superior patriotism, and her superior capacity for government applied to the conditions that prevailed in India during the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. And, strange as it may seem to many, the new rule was accepted by the mass of the people as bringing them welcome relief from a, more or less, chronic state of disorder, and conferring on them advantages outweighing all considerations on the other side. This was due to the fact that with all her contribution to human progress in many fields—religion, philosophy, literature, science, art—a contribution which the world is coming to recognise more and more every day and of which Indians may well remain proud for all time—India did not develop the national idea or the idea of political freedom as developed in the West. Who exercised the sovereign authority was to her people a minor matter as long as it was well exercised and did not seriously interfere with their religious, social, or communal life. And it cannot be denied that in many essential respects the standards of government of the new rulers compared favourably with those of the indigenous powers that were then struggling for supremacy in the land. The advantageous start thus secured was further improved by the declarations of wise and far-seeing statesmen, made from time to time in those early days, as regards the policy in accordance with which the affairs of this country were to be administered. India, they declared, was to them a trust, and was therefore to be governed in the spirit of a trust. Not England's profit, but India's moral and material well-being, was to be the object of the rule; Englishmen were not to form a governing caste in the country; the people of India were to be helped to advance steadily to a position of equality with them, so that they might in due course acquire the capacity to govern themselves in accordance with the higher standards of the West. To fit the youth of the country for their new responsibilities institutions were started for imparting to them Western education, and the class thus trained in the ideas of the West was expected to act as interpreter between the Government and the people, bringing

its active goodwill to the support of the former. The establishment of the universities and Queen Victoria's noble Proclamation, addressed to the princes and people of India on the morrow of the Mutiny, set the final seal on this large-hearted policy.

It is necessary to bear these facts in mind to understand clearly the estrangement that has taken place, as observed above, during the last quarter of a century between Englishmen and Indians, especially that class among the Indians which has come, directly or indirectly under the influence of the education of the West. Numerically this class still constitutes but a small proportion of the whole population, but it is undoubtedly the brain of the country, doing its thinking for it and determining its public opinion. For several years this class was keenly appreciative of England's work in India, and its attitude towards Englishmen on the whole was that of pupils to their teachers—an attitude of respect, confidence, even of affection. The first effect of Western teaching on those who received it was to incline them strongly in favour of the Western way of looking at things, and, under this influence, they bent their energies, in the first instance, to a re-examination of the whole of their ancient civilisation—their social usages and institutions, their religious beliefs, their literature, their science, their art; in fact, their entire conception and realisation of life. This brought them into violent collision with their own society, but that very collision drove them closer to the Englishmen in the country, to whom they felt deeply grateful for introducing into India the liberal thought of the West, with its protest against caste or sex disabilities and its recognition of man's dignity as man—a teaching which they regarded as of the highest value in serving both as a corrective and a stimulant to their old civilisation. On one point they entertained no doubt whatever in their minds. They firmly believed that it was England's settled policy to raise steadily their political status till at last they fully participated in the possession of those free institutions which it is the glory of the English race to have evolved. This belief, so strong at one time, began, however, gradually to weaken when it was seen that English administrators were not in practice as ready to advance along lines of constitutional development as had been hoped, and that the bulk of Englishmen in the country were far from friendly, even to the most reasonable aspirations of Indians in political matters. With the rise of the new Imperialism in England during the last quarter of a century new and clearer signs became visible of a disinclination on the part of the ruling nation to carry into effect the policy to which it stood committed. Then, indeed, the faith of Indian reformers in the character and purpose of British rule, already tried by a feeling of suspicion, began definitely to give way. Suspicion was followed

by surprise, by disappointment, by anger, and these inevitably produced a rapidly rising anti-English feeling, which specially affected the younger minds throughout the country. Things now came to be regarded in a new light. The old readiness to acknowledge freely and gratefully the benefits which India had derived from the British connection gave way to a tendency to indulge in bitter and fault-finding criticism, directed indiscriminately against everything done by Englishmen. "Wrong in the one thing rare," what mattered it to the Indians what Englishmen did, or how they conducted themselves in other respects? While this development was taking place within the borders of India the whole East was already being driven by those mysterious forces which shape great events to a new life, in which a longing to enjoy the solid advantages of a constitutional government and realise the dignity of nationhood was combined with a new pride in the special culture and civilisation of the East, a new impatience of Western aggression and Western domination, and a new faith in the destiny of Eastern peoples. India could not but be affected by these thought-currents with the rest of Asia, and the influences at work naturally received a powerful stimulus when Japan astonished the world with her victories over Russia. The steady growth of the anti-English feeling in the country was recognised by all thoughtful persons to be fraught with a serious menace to the cause of peaceful progress, and the outlook was undoubtedly very dark, when English statesmanship came to the rescue and by granting to the country a measure of constitutional reform sufficiently substantial to meet the more pressing requirements of the day helped largely to ease the tension and restore a more friendly feeling between the two sides.

There is no doubt whatever that the reform measures of two years ago arrested the growing estrangement between Europeans and Indians in India, and since then the situation has undergone a steady and continuous change for the better. So marked is this change over the greater part of the country that there are men who hold that the desire to understand each other and respect each other's feelings and susceptibilities was never so great as it is at the present moment. For how long these relations will thus continue to improve, and whether they will again tend to grow worse, and if so, when, are questions more difficult to answer. It is well to remember that certain causes are constantly at work to produce misunderstandings and make harmonious relations between the two sides a matter of considerable difficulty. Thus the differences in temperament, the natural predisposition to look at questions from different standpoints, the tone habitually adopted by a section of the Press, both English and Indian—these make a demand on the

patience of either side which it is not always easy to meet. Then there are those cases of personal ill-treatment—happily rarer now than before—which from time to time attract public attention and cause infinite mischief, cases in which Indians are found to suffer insult and even violence at the hands of individual Englishmen for no other reason than that they are Indians. These are, so to say, among the standing factors of the situation, and they must, I fear, be accepted as inevitable—at any rate, in the present circumstances of the country. Were these the only elements tending to give rise to misunderstanding and friction the matter would be comparatively simple: for the interests which depend on the two communities working together with a sufficient degree of harmony are so vast, and of such paramount importance to both, that it would not be a very difficult task to keep within reasonable limits such misunderstanding and friction whenever it arose. But the real sources of trouble which invest the future with uncertainty lie much deeper. Is British rule to remain a rigidly foreign rule, as long as it lasts, or will it conform more and more to standards which alone may be accepted in these days as compatible with the self-respect of civilised people? What is to be the objective of England's policy in India? How is the conflict of interests between the two communities to be reconciled, and what sacrifices may be reasonably expected from either side to render such reconciliation a living and potent reality? These and other allied questions, which really go to the root of England's connection with India, have to be answered before any prediction about the probable future of the relations between Englishmen and Indians in India can be hazarded. The opinion is often expressed that if only Indians and Europeans mix more largely socially, or Indians participate in the games and sports of Englishmen in greater numbers, a better understanding between the two sides will be established, resulting in better relations generally. There is, of course, a certain amount of truth in this, and it is necessary to acknowledge that earnest efforts, very recently made in several places by prominent members of the two communities to provide facilities for a better social intercourse, have contributed their share to the improvement in the situation that has taken place. But apart from the fact that such freer intercourse, unless it is restricted to individuals on either side who are anxious to see each other's good points and are tolerant to each other's weaknesses, may produce difficulties of its own, I am firmly persuaded that as long as the consciousness of political inequality continues to be behind such intercourse, it cannot carry us far. I have no doubt that there are Englishmen in India who put away from them all thought of such inequality in their dealings with Indians, and there are also

Indians who are not influenced by this consideration in their relations with Englishmen. But when this admission is made the fact remains that as things are to-day the humblest Englishman in the country goes about with the prestige of the whole Empire behind him, whereas the proudest and most distinguished Indian cannot shake off from himself a certain sense that he belongs to a subject race. The soul of social friendship is mutual appreciation and respect, which ordinarily is not found to co-exist with a consciousness of inequality. This does not mean that where equality does not exist the relations are necessarily unfriendly. It is not an uncommon thing for a party which is in what may be called a state of subordinate dependence on another to be warmly attached to that other party. But such relations are possible only if the subordinate party—assuming, of course, that its sense of self-respect is properly developed—is enabled to feel that its dependent state is necessary in its own interest, and that the other party is taking no undue advantage of it for other ends. And this, I think, is roughly the position, as between India and England. It must be admitted that the present inequality between Englishmen and Indians, as regards their political status, can only be reduced by degrees, and that a considerable period must elapse before it is removed altogether. Meanwhile Indians must be content to continue in a position of subordinate dependence, and the extent to which “a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation” can be promoted between them and Englishmen must depend upon how they are enabled to realise that British rule is necessary for their own progress, and that British policy in India has no other aim than their advancement. Any doubt on this point in the Indian mind will mean the weakening of the tie which binds the two countries, and will not fail, in the end, to nullify the results of the most beneficent administrative measures. Assured on this point, on the other hand, Indians will not allow even serious administrative mistakes to alienate them in feeling or sympathy from the country under whose sway they find themselves placed, and with whose guidance they hope to advance to their appointed destiny.

It may appear to some that too much stress is being laid in this paper on what may be termed the political development of the people of India, and that no attempt is being made to discuss how, leaving political considerations alone, Europeans and Indians may be helped to acquire a deeper and more sympathetic understanding of each other's special culture and civilisation, and how a heartier co-operation may be established between them in the pursuit of knowledge or the service of humanity—“for the greater glory of God and the relief of man's estate.” So far as the understanding of

Europe by India is concerned, the work is being carried on with great vigour under the auspices of the Indian Universities, which have now been in existence for more than fifty years. The very object of these universities is to promote Western learning in the land, and successive generations of Indian students have been and are being introduced by them to a study of Western literature and history, Western philosophy, and Western sciences. And various missionary bodies have been presenting, for a century and more, the religion of the West to the people of India. Through these agencies a knowledge of Western society—of its traditions, its standards, its achievements, its ideals, its outlook on life and its problems, its methods of realising itself—has been rapidly spreading in the country, and the insight thus acquired is, on the whole, sympathetic and marked by deep and genuine appreciation. It is to be regretted that, on the English side, there is no corresponding attempt to study and understand India. It is true that individual Englishmen have done monumental work in interpreting India to the West, but neither in England nor among Englishmen in this country is there any systematic study of Indian culture and civilisation, with the result that very few Englishmen, in spite of a fairly prolonged stay in this land, acquire any real insight into them. It is a curious fact, and one of no small significance, that in this matter Germany is far ahead of England, and even America bids fair to go beyond her. It is obvious that there is great room for improvement here, and if one result of the present Congress will be to stimulate among Englishmen a study of Indian culture and civilisation in a sympathetic spirit, the Congress will have rendered a great service to India. But while it is undoubted that such study, especially if it leads to increased respect for India by Englishmen, will contribute materially to improve relations between the two sides, there is no getting away from the fact that, as the contact between England and India at present is predominantly political, it is on the attitude of Englishmen towards the political advancement of India that the future of these relations will mainly turn. The question, therefore, how to promote "the most friendly feelings" between the East and West in India resolves itself largely into how England may assist India's political advancement.

The political evolution to which Indian reformers look forward is representative government on a democratic basis. The course of this evolution must necessarily be slow in India, though it need not be as slow as some people imagine. It is true, as Lord Morley pointed out three years ago, that a long time must elapse before India takes those countless, weary steps that are necessary to develop a strong political personality. But a beginning has been

made, and the movement can only be forward and not backward. The difficulties that tend to retard the movement are undoubtedly great, and at times they threaten to prove quite overwhelming. But every day the forces that urge us on grow stronger, and in the end the difficulties will be overcome. It is unnecessary to say that it is largely in England's power to hasten or delay this evolution. If England wants to play her part nobly in this mysterious and wonderful drama, her resolve to help forward this advance must be firm and irrevocable, and not dependent on the views, predilections, or sympathies of individual administrators, whom she may from time to time charge with the direction of Indian affairs. I think the time has come when a definite pronouncement on this subject should be made by the highest authority, entitled to speak in the name of England, and the British Government in India should keep such pronouncement constantly in view in all its actions. There is a class of thinkers and writers among Englishmen, with whom it is an axiom that Oriental people have no desire, at any rate, no capacity for representative institutions. This cool and convenient assumption is not standing the test of experience, and, in any case, no self-respecting Indian will accept it; and it is astonishing that these men, who thus seek to shut the door in the face of Indian aspirations, do not realise how thereby they turn the Indian mind against those very interests, for whose support they probably evolve their theories. The first requisite, then, of improved relations on an enduring basis between Englishmen and Indians is an unequivocal declaration on England's part of her resolve to help forward the growth of representative institutions in India and a determination to stand by this policy in spite of all temptations or difficulties. The second requisite is that Indians should be enabled to feel that the Government under which they live, whatever its *personnel*, is largely and in an ever-increasing measure, *national* in spirit and sentiment and in its devotion to the moral and material interests of the country. Thus, outside India, Indians should feel the protecting arm of the British Government behind them, ready to help them in resisting oppression and injustice. The monstrous indignities and ill-treatment to which the people of this country are being subjected in South Africa, have aroused the bitterest resentment throughout the land. On the other hand, the recent action of the Government of India in prohibiting the supply of indentured labour from this country to Natal, has evoked a feeling of deep and widespread satisfaction which cannot fail to have its effect on the general relations between Europeans and Indians in the country. Among matters bearing on the moral and material well-being of the people,

the Government should lose no more time now in dealing with Education in all its branches in a national spirit—especially with mass education and technical education. It is a humiliating reflection that while in most other civilised countries universal elementary education has long been accepted as one of the first duties of the State, and while within the borders of India itself, the Feudatory State of Baroda has found it practicable to introduce a system of free and compulsory primary education for both boys and girls, in India seven children out of eight are still allowed to grow up in ignorance and darkness and four villages out of five are without a school! And as regards technical education, while our engineering colleges, which were started as far back as fifty years ago, are still training only subordinates for the Public Works Department of the Government, Japan starting much later, has already provided herself with a complete system of technical education in all its grades. The third requisite on which it is necessary to insist, is that England should send out to India less and less of those who are not of her best. From the best Englishmen, Indians have yet to learn a great deal, and their presence in the country will strengthen and not weaken India's appreciation of what she owes to England. But it should be realised that though the Indian average is still inferior to the English average and will continue to be so for some time, individual Indians are to be found in all parts of the country who, in character, capacity, and attainments, will be able to hold their own anywhere. And when Englishmen, inferior to such men, are introduced into the country and placed in higher positions, a sense of unfairness and injustice comes to pervade the whole Indian community, which is very prejudicial to the cultivation or maintenance of good feeling. Fewer and better men, sent out from England, better paid if necessary, will prevent England's prestige from being lowered in India, and this, in present circumstances, is a consideration of great importance. The fourth and last requisite that I would like to mention is the extreme necessity of such Englishmen as come out to this country realising the profound wisdom of the advice, urged on them some time ago by Lord Morley, that while bad manners are a fault everywhere, they are in India a "crime." I think Englishmen in India cannot be too careful in this respect.

The only safe thing that any one can say about the future of India is that it is still enveloped in obscurity. But I believe whole-heartedly in a great destiny for the people of this land. We still retain many of those characteristics which once placed us in the van of the world's civilisation—the depth of our spirituality, our serene outlook on life, our conceptions of domestic and social

duty. And other races that have from time to time come to make their home here have brought their own treasures into the common stock. The India of the future will be compounded of all these elements, reinforcing one another; but a long process of discipline and purification and readjustment is necessary, before she gathers again the strength required for her allotted task. In this work of preparation it has been given to a great Western nation to guide and help her. And if craven or selfish counsels are not allowed to prevail, England will have played the noblest international part that has yet fallen to the lot of humanity. When the men and women of India begin again to grow to the full height of their stature and proclaim to the world the mission that shall be theirs, a great stream of moral and spiritual energy, long lost to view, will have returned to its channel, and East and West—white and dark and yellow and brown—will all have cause alike to rejoice.

[Paper submitted in English.]

EGYPT

By MOH. SOUROUT BEY, *Barrister, Cairo.*

I CANNOT sufficiently thank the promoters of this Congress for giving me the opportunity to address you on the subject of my country—Egypt.

These four days—the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July—will never be forgotten by any of us. They will not only record in our memories this sympathetic manifestation of good understanding and of friendly feeling, but they will also remind us of the serene dignity of the reception accorded by the noble representatives of the West to the representatives of the East. They will inscribe names in our hearts that will henceforward be dear to us. There is another reason, too, why these four days deserve to be remembered. They will give expression to the intimate solidarity that binds us together, and the real character of our universal brotherhood. We belong to very different countries, and in a few days we shall be scattered over the world; but this matters little if our thoughts are united in a common sentiment that knows no frontiers—the consciousness of the greatness of the aim of this Congress. Let us, from the depths of our hearts, make some acknowledgment of our gratitude to the initiators of this noble cause of universal peace, and thank them for giving us this happy opportunity to draw closer, by our presence, the links that attach to each other the different members of all races.

Part I. The Sociological Situation.—A. Language.—Being a cosmopolitan centre, Egypt is a veritable focus of languages.

All kinds of dialects meet in it. The preponderant and maternal tongue of the country is Arabic. It is the principal subject of instruction in the public schools of the State and in the private national schools. In foreign scholastic institutions, which are not less numerous, the teaching of Arabic forms part of the programme arranged, but is an auxiliary and optional language. It has made an important advance among the foreign colonies, and we are pleased to be able to record the material progress made among the majority of them. The Egyptian State is careful to maintain the language and to see that it is constantly improving. It makes every effort to render it popular and useful.

El-Azhar at Cairo, an ancient foundation, is the chief university of the world in the teaching of Arabic literature. It attracts a vast number of students from all parts of the Eastern world. The instruction that is given in it is rich, sound, learned, and profound. The graduates who issue from it are fully penetrated with the spirit and the subtlety of the language, and in their turn become intelligent and able teachers.

The auxiliary languages that are chiefly used in Egypt are French, English, Italian, Greek, and Turkish. The English language owes its influence to its introduction into the State schools and its adoption as the official language of the administration. This indicates the limit of its influence. French remains the more popular tongue, in spite of its exclusion from governmental institutions. It is the diplomatic, administrative, and commercial language—the language of business and all secular matters.

B. Religion.—The religion of the Egyptian people is Islam; but all other religions—such as Jacobite Christianity, which is peculiar to the native Christians, Latin Christianity, Greek Orthodoxy, and Judaism—are admitted and practised.

According to the last census (1907) we find:—

			Total.	Men.	Women.
<i>Mussulmans</i>			10,269,445	5,145,114	5,124,331
Copts {	Orthodox	...	667,036	336,630	330,906
	Catholic	...	14,576	7,589	6,987
	Protestant	...	24,710	13,078	11,632
	Protestants	...	12,736	8,706	4,030
	Roman Catholics	...	57,744	28,235	29,509
	Greek Orthodoxy	...	76,953	43,384	33,569
	Oriental	...	27,937	14,520	13,417
Jews			38,635	19,730	18,905
Other religions			206	154	52
Total			11,287,359		

The Koran is the code of precepts and laws which our prophet Mohammed communicated to us. It is also a work of pure morality.

and of positive and rational philosophy. In it we find, side by side with the wisest rules of conduct, remarkable sociological and legislative dispositions. One may even say that the latter comprise almost the whole work, and that the purely theological part is small. It was by means of his eloquent language and lofty intelligence that the Prophet made a strong and disciplined nation out of a savage people. A good Mussulman must have Faith and Islam—the one is internal belief, the other the external proof of this belief by religious acts. Unfortunately, the Egyptians are charged with fanaticism; but the censure has little foundation, is hasty, and is not impartial. One must understand the situation. Every religion has a certain fanaticism, because it is always essentially exclusive, and the very principle of the creed confers on the faithful the privilege of the one true way of salvation. The Egyptians are naturally liberal and tolerant; but they allow none to trample on their dignity and to treat them as inferiors. Is there a single Mussulman who has ever broken off his relations with a foreigner, or discharged a Christian servant, because he held a different religion? There is not.

The real feeling that one finds among all Mussulman peoples is one of affection and mutual sympathy.

C. Present Position of Women.—The Egyptian woman is the most resigned of her sex in the whole world to-day. Though she is not usually well-educated, she nevertheless directs her household with good-will, and sacrifices herself with absolute self-denial to the welfare and happiness of the family. Her education still leaves much to be desired. To understand properly her social condition, one must distinguish between wealthy women, comfortably situated women, and the poor or fellahas.

The wealthy woman is usually well educated and fairly cultured, has broad interests, and follows the intellectual movement. She is intelligent and charitable. She is modest, affectionate in speech, and absolutely devoted to her husband. She can read and write several languages: Arabic, Turkish, French, and English. Some have even taken degrees or medical diplomas. They like music and singing, and, like other women, they have a passion for jewels. They take their part in progress and civilisation, and take advantage of all scientific and literary functions.

The middle-class have more modest attainments, but are occupied with cooking, sewing, and domestic duties. They do their own shopping, and are deeply interested in their homes. The chief reproach that is justly brought against them is their unpardonable neglect of the elementary training of their children. This negligence is innate, and has a bad effect on the character of the children. Badly cared for and watched over, these poor little creatures suffer

from an apathetic neglect which deprives them of the most necessary hygienic services and of a good intellectual direction.

The fellaha, or poor woman, is merely ignorant. She helps her husband in the fields.

It is quite inaccurate to say generally that the Egyptian woman is confined to the house. All women go out, at any hour of the day or night, as men do. They walk alone or with friends, constantly pay or receive visits, go to the shops to make purchases, wander about in the markets, frequent the chief walking-places, and sometimes travel alone.

The woman of the East takes no part either in politics or society generally, and has no influence whatever abroad. Her domain is the house. In it she is absolute mistress.

D. Marriage between Different Races.—Many Egyptians—though the number is not great—marry wives of foreign races, but unfortunately it must be said, in a general way, that the majority of these unions are not happy. The reason is simple: it is owing to the difference in ways, customs, characters, cast of mind, &c. There are, nevertheless, some of these families who live in perfect harmony, thanks to the mutual concessions of the tolerant partners. History records that men who became famous—such as Mr. Rikards (who became Abdalla Pacha II-Inglesi), General Menou, and Colonel le Seves (Soliman Pacha), converts to Islam—married Egyptian Mussulman women, and that, on the other hand, many Egyptians married wives of other races. The children born of these marriages have predominantly an Egyptian character.

From the legal point of view the marriage of a Mussulman with a Christian or Jewish woman is permitted, which shows the great toleration of the Mussulman religion. The Mussulman woman marries only a Mussulman; if she unites herself to a non-Mussulman, the marriage is declared radically null and void. The children of both sexes that are born of these marriages follow the religion of their father. Difference of religion takes away the right of succession, either of the husband to the wife or the wife to the husband.

E. Differences of Habits and Ways.—In Egypt tradition has its followers, and even its devotees. The Egyptian people, strictly so called, have a strong attachment to the old ways, but are not refractory to such progress as evolution demands. This observation must be interpreted in the sense that will be explained later. The introduction of Europeans into Egypt goes back to the time of Mohammed Aly. The most ancient colony is that of the Greeks, which to-day numbers about 62,974 members. They live in perfect harmony with the natives, and speak the indigenous tongue; many

of them have in course of time become subjects of the country. The other foreign colonies number—Italians, 34,926 ; British, 20,653 ; French, 14,891 ; Austrians, 7,705 ; Germans, 1,847 ; Russians, 2,410 ; Swiss, 636 ; Belgians, 340 ; Dutch, 185 ; Spanish, 797 ; other European nationalities, 157 ; Persians, 1,385 ; other Asiatic nations, 191 ; other African nationalities, 1,425 ; Americans, 521 ; other nationalities, 671. The outcome of their contact with the natives is not altogether good, as it is not the cream of European society that is willing to expatriate itself and settle in a foreign land.

The relations of these foreigners to each other, as regards personal affairs, are not subject to the local authorities, but, in virtue of the capitulations, to the consular jurisdictions. Litigation between foreigners of different nationalities, or between natives and foreigners, belongs to mixed tribunals set up by the reform of 1875, and depending on the Mixed Court of Appeal at Alexandria.

Egyptian society differs materially from that of Europe. All relations or contact between the masculine and the feminine elements are forbidden. The Egyptian, properly so-called, dreads Western familiarity, which gives rise to temptation and may wreck the most harmonious home. For him marriage is generally a beginning, whereas for the European it is almost always the end. In regard to moral ideas he holds somewhat different opinions from others, and he regards life under another aspect. He never places his happiness in this life. Whoever he may be, he always has some chimera of which he constantly dreams, which he caresses and prefers to the most seductive reality. As a rule, he is indifferent to all that tempts and captivates the European. He is distinguished by a quality of the heart, which is in his very blood—devotion. His love of his neighbours is a thing to admire. Equally with the genuine Arab, he has a high regard for honesty and generosity. The exquisite kindness which people show to each other in Egypt must be seen to be appreciated. A man is linked to another, not because of some possible utility, but from pure affection and reciprocal friendship. Pride has no place amongst us. Those who are highest in the social scale would not shrink from receiving in their homes the poorest of workers. Each man is understood to be the child of his works, the artisan of his own fortune. The man who starts in the humblest position may reach the highest, without any formal etiquette creating a barrier between the two phases of his life.

Sincerity and impartiality compel us to admit that the Egyptian has his defects, as well as his fine and rare qualities. Though honest by temperament, he is inexact in fulfilling his engagements. He keeps his promise, but he is slow in doing so. It is due rather to

carelessness than to ill-will. May we put it that he wishes to disclaim any pretence that he is perfect?

F. Intellectual Standing and Progress.—The science which flourished in the early days of Islam, at Bagdad, Corfu, Kairwan, Basra, and Cufa, during their brilliant prosperity, are now cultivated only in the city of Cairo. Egypt is unquestionably the part of the world in which Mussulman university centres are most numerous and richest in students. It is the scientific and intellectual centre of the East. Round each of the pillars of El-Azhar, and under the roof of most of the mosques in the various quarters of Cairo, of which it is the centre, you will find students from Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, the Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Arabia, Afghanistan, India, and Java, from early dawn until late at night, receiving the instruction that is given them by several hundred professors of the various sciences.

In December, 1908, the nation, conscious of the future of its children and anxious to raise the intellectual level, founded the Egyptian University. Its establishment is due to private initiative, to the generosity of large-hearted men, and the sympathy of those who love progress and science. At once the Council of the University, encouraged by the spontaneous liberality it experienced on every side, set to work to realise the most pressing part of the programme, and sent to all the different intellectual centres of Europe a number of young students for the pursuit of science.

While applauding this resurrection of science, we earnestly desire that the intellectuals who will control the destiny of our studious young generation will spare no effort to form their characters, inflame them with a zeal for scientific discovery, and train them in the struggle of intellectual life.

Let us not forget that it is more important to train character than to train intelligence, and that a really great university should devote itself more ardently to the development of qualities of character than to the training of the mind.

We have at the present time more than six hundred students in Europe and America, and the number is increasing. More than three hundred of them are in France.

Part II. The Politico-Economic Situation.—Egypt owes its economic importance to two circumstances, which have had influence in the past, as they have to-day. The first is the situation of Egypt: it is at the crossing of the great commercial routes between Southern Europe, North Africa, the Sudan, Arabia, and the East in general. The second is the fertility of the soil, which is due no less to its excellent character, to the stability of its sub-tropical climate, and to the regular and abundant supply of water.

It is an essentially agricultural country, and its richness has always been proverbial, but, on the other hand, there are hardly any industries, apart from those that have been introduced, and are now prosperous—the sugar and rice industries. The manufacture of sugar employs a number of factories in Upper Egypt; the decortication of rice is chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Damietta. The making of cigarettes with tobacco, which is imported and then exported, has grown to such an extent that for the year 1909 we have to record an importation of £839,185 (English), and an exportation of £365,801 (English). The real wealth of the country consists in the cultivation of cotton. Numbers of factories for picking it are scattered over Upper as well as Lower Egypt. The enormous growth of foreign commerce is due entirely to the increased cultivation of cotton and to the rise in price of that commodity. I need only say that during the last twenty-five years the receipts, in spite of constant strikes, have risen from about £9,000,000 (English) to more than £15,402,872 (English);¹ that the total of imports and exports, which in 1880 was £19,500,000 (English) has increased to about £42,000,000 (English); that the cultivated area has increased by more than a million *feddens*; and that the cotton crop, which in 1880 was about 2,250,000 *kantars*, now usually varies between 6,000,000 and 6,500,000 *kantars*. There could, moreover, be no better proof of the development of our commercial activity than that afforded by the remarkable growth of credit-establishments. There are various kinds of joint-stock banks established; some are deposit and clearance banks, others lend money on mortgages and securities. Foreign capital flows in constantly with perfect confidence, and has had the happy effect of substituting, in a large measure, banks for the local usurers for providing funds for the proprietary class and the fellahs. The above figures indicate a prosperity that is on the increase, and show that Egypt is much richer to-day than it was twenty-five years ago, and that its productive power has been developed.

G. Political Conditions.—Egypt is a vassal country of Turkey. The form of government is theoretically absolute, but with certain modifications which will be explained later. It was recognised by the Convention signed at London on July 15, 1840, and agreed upon between the Courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia on the one hand, and the Ottoman Sublime Porte on the other. The chief firman or *hatti-Cherif* of June 1, 1841, appointed Mehemet Aly Pacha the Governor of Egypt, and awarded the hereditary government to his descendants.

Ismail Pacha was the first to receive the title of Khedive, and in 1866 succeeded in obtaining material concessions from the Sublime

¹ Supplement to the Official Journal; No. 31, March 16, 1910.

Porte, especially the firman, which establishes : (1) the transmission of the Khedivate in order of primogeniture from one eldest son to another, and (2) that all revenue should be received in the name of the Sultan.

After 1882, when the events connected with Arabi Pacha occurred—events that are still painful in our memories—Great Britain intervened for the purpose of restoring order and establishing H.H. the Khedive on his throne ; it has remained since then in the country, taking part in all Egyptian affairs and occupying the country with military force. This occupation is not judicially recognised, except by the Convention of April 18, 1904, in regard to the finances of the country, in which Turkey (the Suzerain Power) took no part. The actual Government has at its head H.H. the Khedive Abbas II., who received his investiture by firman dated March 27, 1892.¹

He governs with the aid of a Ministry that is in some sense responsible to him. This Ministry is composed of seven Ministers and six Under-Secretaries of State. Besides this purely native Government there exists another power since the occupation, that of the Plenipotentiary Britannic Minister, in whose hands is the preponderant influence both in politics and administration.

According to Lord Granville's circular of 1883, and Lord Rosebery's dispatch of 1892, the native authorities are obliged, in all matters of importance, to follow the advice given them by the Government of Great Britain, under penalty of losing their positions.

The British Agent exercises his control by means of Advisers attached to each Ministry, except those of Foreign Affairs and

¹ "The Khedive, to whom the civil, financial, and judicial administration is confided, will have the power to make all regulations and internal laws necessary to that end. The Khedive will be authorised to conclude and to renew, without prejudice to the political treaties of my Imperial Government or to its sovereign rights over the country, conventions with the agents of Foreign Powers in regard to customs and commerce, and all transactions with foreigners concerning internal affairs. The conventions will be communicated to my Sublime Porte before they are promulgated by the Khedive. The Khedive will have full and entire control of the financial affairs of the country, but he will not have the right to contract loans, except as concerns exclusively the regulation of the present financial situation, and in complete accord with its present creditors or delegates officially charged with their interests. The Khedive cannot devolve upon others, in whole or in part, the privileges accorded to Egypt, which are entrusted to him, and which form part of the rights inherent to a sovereign power, nor sacrifice any part of the territory. . . . Regular payment of the annual tribute of 750,000 L.T. The coinage will be minted in the name of the Sultan. The Egyptian Army is fixed at 18,000 men in time of peace. Nevertheless, as the Egyptian land and sea forces are also intended for the service of the Sultan, in the event of the Sublime Porte finding itself at war, the number may be increased in such proportion as is thought fit. The flags and the grade-marks of officers will be the same as in the Ottoman Army. The Khedive will have the right to confer on officers of the land and sea forces up to the rank of colonel exclusively, and on civil officers up to the rank of sanieh exclusively."

War, which he controls directly, and by means of inspectors in each *moudirieh* or province. The English Advisers are appointed by H.H. the Khedive, but proposed by the English Diplomatic Agent, to whom they are really responsible.

The nation does not, in the parliamentary or representative sense, really take part in the making of laws, and does not see that they are executed. It is represented by :—

- (1) A Legislative Council, one half of whose members are appointed for life by the Government, and the other half elected on a system of two-graded suffrage—a very defective system, which does not meet the wish of the nation, and gives only a semblance of representation. This Council has only a consultative voice, and, when it rejects or modifies a law, the Government may disregard it, sending it a note explaining the reasons why its advice has not been followed, and the Council has no right to reply to, or even to discuss, this note.
- (2) A General Assembly, of which the members of the Legislative Council and the Ministers form part. This Assembly must be convoked at least once in two years. It also has only a consultative voice, except when there is a question of raising new taxes. In this case alone its voice is deliberative and decisive.

The sittings of these two elected bodies were formerly private; only last year did they become public. On the other hand, the Legislative Council is granted the right to put questions to the ministers according to certain rules, without being able to discuss their replies. This reform has not been introduced by decree; it was recognised in the Council by a letter from the President of the Council of Ministers. These few insignificant reforms have, nevertheless, added some strength and authority to the Councils, which were too much neglected, and consulted only as a matter of form.

In the third place, and beside each *moudir* or prefect, there are provincial councils, the competency of which has been recently enlarged. They have now a deliberative voice in part of the local affairs, and much is hoped of their new organisation. They have devoted nearly the whole of their budget to public instruction, and make every effort to spread education in the country. Here also we must recognise the local commissions that exist in all the provinces, and the mixed municipalities at Alexandria, Mansourah, Port-Said, and Heluan. The establishment of these was excellent, as it indicates the first step toward self-government.

Egypt, like all civilised countries, demands reforms for the purpose of remedying its actual defects. This very legitimate claim justifies the French proverb that observes, with much subtlety: "To govern is to dissatisfy." It is in this spirit, and not in a

critical mood, that I venture to make myself the spokesman of my country in formulating the following claims:—

Elections.—The system actually in use is wholly defective, as it in no wise expresses the will of the nation. It is also advisable to extend the powers of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly in order that the natives may have a real share in the government.

Justice.—The same observation may be made in regard to justice, either mixed or native. An early use should be made of some means to make it more expeditious and economical, as one of its great defects is the complicated character of the procedure, which causes long and useless delays, always injurious to the parties interested, and the enormous expense of having recourse to it. It is also to be hoped that certain necessary, if not important, amendments will be made in the law.

Education.—The Government ought to apply itself seriously to enforcing *obligatory instruction* and return to the system in vogue before the English occupation—to make education gratuitous in all elementary schools. It is necessary to draw up new programmes for the training of our youth, and make it capable of furnishing a supply of skilful engineers, doctors, jurisconsults, &c., so that they may take their part in the progressive development of the country. Above all things, the authorities must take up the subject of moral instruction, which is so important an element among Europeans, making them good parents and good citizens.

Agriculture.—More delicate, and more vital to the economic interest of the country, is the question of agriculture. It is necessary to face at once the eventuality of the results of the cotton-crop not coming up to expectation. In order to remedy this evil, and avoid an inevitable crisis and imminent misfortune, it is necessary to ensure and increase the productivity of the valley of the Nile by a more varied and intensive culture and by bringing out its latent resources; for instance, to increase the cultivation of the sugar-cane and permit the cultivation of tobacco, and the results will be excellent both for the Government and the cultivators; also to encourage the creation of model farms, the rearing of poultry, &c. These are so many material means of which the Egyptian producer is at present deprived.

Another reform that is equally pressing is the improvement of the lot of the fellah by providing him with the means of enlarging his activity and resources. At the present time the majority of the fellahs hire a plot of land, which they work themselves, and with the produce they are barely able to pay the rent (often exorbitant) and the taxes, and provide for themselves for a year

out of the little that remains. On this account it is impossible for them to save anything, still less to have the satisfaction of acquiring a *kirat* of land. The Government ought, like a benevolent parent, to offer them every facility. It could, for instance, with every regard for their age-old inexperience and improvidence, either let land to them on a long lease, with the prospect of some day becoming the owners of it (by paying with the rent an additional sum towards the price of the land), or grant them perpetual leases in consideration of the regular payment of the rent.

We must not forget, too, that the fellah still uses the ploughing instruments of ages ago, which entail a good deal of labour and time and do not yield a proportionate result. The Department of Agriculture will do a good and useful work if it suggests to the large land-owners to form unions to buy and hire out improved tools. It is wrong to suppose that the fellah is devoted to the ancient methods; on the contrary, he will accept gladly and gratefully any improvement that means a practical saving to him.

The action of the State would be still more fruitful if it encouraged and increased the formation of agricultural unions, co-operative societies, provident and productive associations.

Industry.—A word now on the working population. This poor class of society, which has not yet learned modern methods and industrial organisation, is at the mercy of its employers. The price of food has doubled in recent years, but wages have not increased in proportion, so that the labourer and the worker are relatively poorer than ever. Ought not the competent authority to encourage trade unions in order to remove their grievances? The best way would be to endeavour to make agriculture so prosperous as to check the fatal tendency to rural emigration.

Public Assistance, &c.—Turning to a different order of ideas, we may say that our country is also wanting in establishments of Public Assistance, instituted by the Municipalities and the Provincial Councils; also in retreats for the aged and infirm, such as we see in Europe, especially in England. These establishments would be compelled (instead of doing it out of charity) to house and feed every indigent and his family of any nationality or creed whatever. Such an organisation would do important humane and moral service, particularly in protecting children, as child-mortality is increasing frightfully. The statistics of 1909 show 41·7 deaths per thousand at Cairo, and 33·1 per thousand at Alexandria. If we compare this with European capitals, we find that London, with its 5,000,000 inhabitants, has only 14 deaths per thousand; Berlin, with a population of 2,106,513 has only 15·1 per thousand; Paris, with 2,760,033 inhabitants has 17·4 deaths per thousand. It is a sad disproportion,

especially when we reflect that the climate of these cities is much more unhealthy than ours. From all this we may conclude that sanitary reform leaves a good deal to be desired. We must fight against this alarming loss of infant life in our large towns.

Another pressing duty is to make the houses of the working classes healthier; at present they are entirely wanting in the elementary principles of hygiene.

To resume: Egypt claims certain reforms in order to maintain its prestige and its moral dignity. It may be objected that we lack the means to realise them. To that we may confidently reply that the progressive wealth of the country can sustain the burden of these expenses. Who, moreover, presses the Government to undertake them all at once? A beginning could be made with the urgent reforms, and the work might continue gradually until the expressed wishes of the nation have been satisfied.

In conclusion, we may say that it would be wrong to regard the mental status of the Egyptian as permanent or not susceptible of modification under the pressure of influences in his environment. On the contrary, the present situation leads us to predict with confidence that changes in the system of education and in public opinion, due in a great measure to constant and increasing contact with the West, will transform and improve this mental aptitude at no distant date. Egypt, the cradle of the most ancient civilisation in the world, will, thanks to the generous support of our Beloved and August Sovereign, H.H. the Khedive Abbas II., continue to make giant strides toward the conquest of civilisation and progress. The future smiles on us, and I may conclude in the words of the sublime poet Milton:—

“Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance.”

[Paper submitted in French.]

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF HAITI

By GENERAL LÉGITIME,

Former President of the Republic of Haiti.

THE Haitian nation dates back to yesterday, as it were, and its clumsy gropings towards the light should cause, therefore, no astonishment. From 1804, the year of its independence, to 1843, the year

of the revolution, its political education and its social organisation were bound to be very imperfect. Yet many illusions have been cherished in regard to this people through mistaking surface appearances for the reality. The memory of its former colonial prosperity and the favourable position of the island led many to conceive the Republic of Haiti as a Garden of Eden. Is not the azure sea which lies around it the reservoir from which the Gulf Stream derives the tropical heat which is borne onward until its influence is felt even on the shores of England?

But, however stimulating the climate of the Antilles may be, it could not succeed alone, and with such rapidity, in forming a society. It needs the support of other agencies, and we are therefore compelled, in studying the progress of the people of Haiti, to examine the influence of the external forces which have co-operated, or acted infelicitously, in modifying the situation.

In 1843 nearly twenty years had passed since the Black Republic had been convulsed by a revolution; but the government of the Republic, which might be regarded as the most regular power that had held sway over it since its independence, rested, nevertheless, on an insecure foundation. At that time power was concentrated in the hands of the single personality at the head of the State. It was a government of the older European type. The ideal of the revolution was bound to be very different from this, a government divided into three great branches (legislature, executive, and judiciary), thoroughly civil and representative. It was an attractive ideal; but was such a government possible in the then condition of Haiti, which was feudal rather than mediæval?

History has given a negative answer to the question. In 1843, however, the Haitians were no less eager for liberty than in 1804, and not in the least more opposed to progress. What above all things they desired and demanded, from a lively consciousness of their moral and material needs, was prosperity. They were confident that this was the best means for attaining complete emancipation and the highest possible degree of civilisation. As far as the people were concerned, President Boyer would not have fallen from power if agriculture, commerce, and industry had not been threatened under his administration. Prosperity in these three things was precisely what the deputies of the Commons had in view, and the lack of it formed the burden of their complaints in their representations to the President of the Republic. Ought they not to have adhered to that programme when they had organised a ministry, and incorporated it as a part of the government of the country?

A political revolution is a blind force, and, unfortunately, one that cannot be controlled. If, like the English Revolution, it is conducted

only in relation to existing institutions and for the purpose of realising conservative ideas, it will never be able to do much good. The revolution of 1843, however, was useful in proving once more the danger of Cæsarism or personal government. Cæsarism, which anarchy always involves, cannot, any more than a dictatorship, be a permanent form of government. In the life of a people there is always a moment when the sword must give place to the law. Not that the law is infallible! It often contains many evils in the folds of its long robe; but, while the sword only represents force, the law stands for peace and justice.

Born in troublous times, Haiti is essentially a military State, and, though he cannot entertain ideas of conquest, its head must, nevertheless, retain the character of a noble *gendarme*, the guardian of its institutions. But this *gendarme*, who must be surrounded with the light of knowledge, must have a counterpoise, and that can be found only in communal institutions and in a Parliament. There are, however, many kinds of such institutions and Parliaments; everything depends on the form they assume.

By a *commune* we understand a city, *civitas*, a civic community with its own organs and its characteristic life. By *Parliament* we understand the representation of the communes and of all the centres of social activity that are created in a country. Both institutions are of very ancient origin. They existed in Europe long before feudalism, and even before the Roman Empire.

However much Parliaments have evolved in their form and their functions in the course of history, we seem to find them, in a rudimentary condition, in the *palavers* that are still held in great regard in many a tribe. The Parliament controls, discusses, and, in that way, relieves the responsibility of the Government. The idea of this institution is assuredly one of those that have not suffered in the disappointment of Haiti's early illusions; but, in order that it may be realised effectively, it needs to obtain a deeper consciousness, to sink deeper into and take root in the mind of the people.

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The Parliament of Haiti before 1843 had more than once mutilated itself in deference to the wish of "the august person of the first Magistrate of the Republic," as in the case of the expulsion of the Senator Pierre-André. Many times since then an effort has been made to infuse new blood into it; but the antagonism of the various parties is so determined that, as public opinion vacillates, the scale sinks on either side alternately, sometimes on the side of the Parliament, sometimes on that of the Government.

When, then, may we hope to see established between the various

branches of power in Haiti that harmony and stability which will inspire confidence, strengthen its institutions, and permit a great current of sympathy to flow through its various social strata? However, far from normal as the political *régime* of Haiti still is, it has brought about certain improvements in the public service, and, at the same time, some useful work has been done on private initiative. We may enumerate them as follows:—

Public Instruction.—The development of education was not effectively undertaken in Haiti until the time of the Geffrard Government (1859–67). Schools were multiplied, and instruction of all grades was given, except in the higher grade, in which educational work was restricted to a school of medicine and a school of law. Both before and after the time of Geffrard many young Haitians used to go to Europe to complete their studies, and a number of them were very successful. We may recall, for instance, that M. Léon Audain, formerly a physician in the hospitals of Paris, established a laboratory of bacteriology and parasitology at Port-au-Prince; M. Doret, a civil engineer, and M. Ethéart founded the “Free School of Applied Science,” and, finally, Dr. Jeanty established a maternity hospital and an asylum for the insane. Before the Free School of Applied Science, which is engaged in the training of engineers, architects, and agriculturists, was opened, the Government had laid the foundation of two schools of arts and crafts. The first, which is known as the “Central House,” goes back to 1846, under the administration of Riché. The young people who were detained in it to learn a trade were also taught to read and write, if their education had been neglected. The establishment owed its chief importance to the fact that the making of paper and soap was included in the subjects that were taught. The soap works of the Central House received little encouragement; but its paper works provided, until the end of 1858, all the material that the administration needed for the supply of its offices.

National Foundry, &c.—The second school created by Geffrard was equally successful in metallurgy. It also included a number of schools for teaching wood-carving. We must also refer to the sectarian schools which, since 1860, have assisted in spreading the light and in teaching girls the various occupations suitable for them.

Religion.—The majority of the people are Catholics. On account of the War of Independence, however, the Catholic clergy was not officially organised until 1860, when a Concordat was signed with the Holy See at Rome. Other religions are freely practised in the country.

Communication.—Haiti entered the Postal Union in 1881, under the government of General Salomon, and communicates with foreign

countries by telegraphic connection and shipping. The various towns of the country are connected by the post, by coasting vessels, and by the telephone and telegraph. There are four lines of railway in Haiti at the present time : (1) The Cul-de-Sac line ; (2) the line from the Cap to Grande-Rivière ; (3) the line from Gonaïves to Ennery ; (4) the line from Port-au-Prince to Léogâne. These lines are still in a poor state of development.

Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry.—From the time of Boyer to the present day production has increased five-fold, or even six-fold, in proportion to the growth of the population of Haiti. Yet the economic situation is still the great stumbling-block which brings to its fall the majority of Ministries. Agriculture, commerce, and industry, which focus the energy of a country and form its "vital tripod," so to say, are exhausted and ruined in Haiti under the burden of taxes and paper-money to which the various Governments have usually had recourse to fill up the deficit of the year.

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No other cause need be sought for the debility and the *function-aryism* of Haiti. It is not a racial question, but simply a problem of political economy. This is proved by the fact that wherever paper-money and excessive taxation drain the national reserves, no capital can be accumulated. Private initiative cannot take action, and national industry is paralysed.

One must not, however, on this account despair of the future of the people of Haiti. Whatever may be said to the contrary, it seems to be an energetic and vigorous people. In order to understand its temperament and appreciate its worth, one must leave the towns, where society is in a state of disaggregation, and penetrate far into the country. There, in the midst of a luxuriant vegetation, will be found an almost primitive population, professing a jealous love of its soil. They work, but without method, without guidance, and without capital. They have no resources. In order to sell their produce and buy the smallest thing that they need, they have to walk long distances and cross the mountains to reach the markets in the urban centres.

In an age when the produce of the soil has lost a good deal of its exchange-value, life in the country is full of hardship. What people would be able to prosper in such circumstances? Our peasants feel the truth of this, and they endeavour to escape by emigrating in groups, during the last ten years, to Cuba, Panama, Colon, and other parts of Central America in search of work.

In the case of the Haitian, who suffers from no lack of land, sunshine and rain, this emigration would seem strange if we did not know its causes. It may be asked if the emigrants will not be found

inferior to their rivals, the other workers in the distant land. That is far from being the case. M. Magoon, at one time Governor of Cuba, highly praised them in a report which he made to his Government. Others have since expressed themselves in the same sense. Knowing this, we may conclude that the people of Haiti are persevering, active, and very adaptable; that, if they had been always encouraged and well directed, they would by this time have reached a high pitch of prosperity and civilisation.

It may be objected, however, that the Haitians are fetichistic, and the very general prejudice against the "blacks" disposes people to believe this. Now, it is true that we can discover in Haiti certain traces of African fanaticism; but this is only a lingering relic of ancestral traits which a people does not easily suppress: witness the Greeks, the Romans, the Gauls, the Germans, and the Scandinavians. M. Maxime du Camp says, in one of his works, that there are still people in France who believe in Lilith and Naema, as was the case in the time of the Albigenses.¹ "At the summer solstice certain individuals meet, before the rising of the sun, on one of the hills round Paris; their foreheads are swathed in strips of cloth, like Egyptian sphinxes, and they invoke Apollo Epicurius, and chant the hymn of Orpheus."

It is not surprising that something of the kind should be witnessed on the mountains of Haiti, in a region where the people have always been left to themselves. But the Africans were not all fetichists. Some of them were Mohammedans, and some even Christians; but the latter are never taken into account. Moreau de St.-Méry, in speaking of the African dances that were introduced into San Domingo, refers to the *Vaudoux* (Voud'houn) with which are connected, he says, certain institutions in which superstition and eccentric practices play a great part.² The Vaudoux was at that time danced in public, like all the others; but in order to carry out the rites connected with it, the members of the sect used to meet at night in an enclosed place, a forest, far from the eyes of the profane.

In regard to these matters the authorities did not show any severity until the governments of Toussaint-Louverture and Dessalines, both of whom were *blacks*. The offenders were arrested and prosecuted, and their dance-meetings were regarded as centres of sedition.³ They were not spared under the succeeding govern-

¹ *Paris, sa Vie, ses Organes*, by Maxime du Camp.

² Moreau de St.-Méry, vol. ii. p. 54.

³ Jacques Nicolas Léger. "Fully convinced that the leaders of these dances (Vaudoux) have no other aim than to disturb the public order . . . and impart to their hearers principles that are quite opposed to those that should be held by a man who loves his country and is jealous of the honour of his fellow-citizens; desiring to destroy the

ments. In 1846 President Riché, whenever he heard the suspicious beat of a drum during the night, used to go himself to track and surprise the dancers in their retreat. The unfortunate offenders lived in perpetual and salutary fear, and shuddered at the mere sight of a policeman's uniform in the distance.

In fine, what is this Vaudouism, as an excellent Protestant minister, Mr. Bird, called it? What is it in the life of a people whose last African ancestors were still living in 1870? Fanaticism is assuredly an evil; but we must not exaggerate its importance.

The prolonged weakness and evident incompetence of a State to govern itself may bring about the death of that State, as Bluntschli observed; but a nation or a race is not doomed to destruction because superstition has not been entirely destroyed in its midst. There is every reason for hope. Vaudouism, with its drums, its bells, its howling dervishes, its sorcerers and wizards, will disappear from Haiti just as paganism and druidism disappeared from Europe.

Nil desperandum! Haiti has immense natural wealth. If its Government makes a methodical effort to develop it, with an eye to the welfare and the independence of the nation and the union of families, it will advance as the Argentine Republic, Mexico and Chile have advanced, after a long succession of political revolutions. Let us hope that it will do so, for the honour of the black race, the progress of humanity, and, as Dessalines used to say, for the manifestation of the glory and power of God. *Surge, et ambula.*

[Paper submitted in French.]

HUNGARY

THEORY OF THE HOLY CROWN, OR THE DEVELOPMENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONCEPTION OF PUBLIC RIGHTS OF THE HOLY CROWN IN THE CONSTITUTION¹

By ÁKOS DE TIMON,

Professor of Law in the University of Budapest.

THE Hungarian people who, in the last decade of the ninth century, effected the conquest of the territory which, on the banks

roots of the incalculable evils that the propagation of so noxious a doctrine would bring in its train, &c., I enact as follows: All nocturnal dances and meetings are prohibited," &c.—Decree of Toussaint-Louverture, January 4, 1800.

¹ Compare also in general with the author's *Ungarische Verfassungs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, translated by Felix Schiller. Second Edition. Berlin, 1909, Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht.

of the Danube and the Tisza, is bounded by the Carpathians, are the descendants of the Turanian and Uro-Altaic races. They belong, however, neither to the North-Western group nor to the Finn-Ugric branch, nor yet to the South-Eastern group, *i.e.*, the Turko-Tartars. Both by language and ethnology they belong to a third branch springing from between the two mentioned, the same to which the Huns, Avars, Volga-Bulgarians, Petchenegs, and Kumanians also belong. The strong public spirit of the Hungarian nation—which differentiates it in a marked degree from the German races, which display an individualistic tendency—is probably an inheritance from their Turanian ancestors. In the midst of the culture of Western Europe this public spirit of the Hungarian people manifested itself, as a reaction against the influence of West European ideas and tendencies of law and administration, in the magnificent system of government known to us as The Laws of the Holy Crown.

The Hungarian nation regards the Crown, which is the crown of St. Stephen, as holy. In this respect she stands alone among the peoples who acknowledge a monarchical form of government.

The Hungarian Constitution is a historic fact, the result of more than a thousand years of gradual development. For its roots and fundamental principles we must go back to the original home of the Magyars on the western slopes of the Ural mountains. No other Continental State can look back on such a long and uniform development of its constitution, which has permanently secured to the free members of the nation the right of participation in public affairs.

National alliance formed the basis of the primitive Hungarian State, which was built up on the union of the tribes. A public and not a private alliance, it concerned itself not with individual will or with any private treaty, but existed as a necessity, by virtue of a higher maxim of law binding on the whole members of the nation. We must, therefore, in accordance with modern theories, pronounce the primitive Hungarian State to have been a legally constituted body. Otherwise we could only speak of it as a rabble drawn together for fighting purposes and held together by sentiments of fidelity and loyalty towards the chief. Thanks to the national alliance, the primitive Hungarian State possessed in a decidedly superior form a legal public character, unlike the feudal states of the Middle Ages, whose feudal basis bound the individual in a relationship, not to the whole community, but to a person more powerful than himself.

According to the trustworthy reports of the Greek emperors (Emperor Leo the Wise's *Taktik* and Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos's

work *De administrando imperio*¹), the primitive state enjoined two public duties: common defence and obedience to the laws, binding on all recognised free members of the community. Every man belonging to the nation capable of bearing arms was obliged to appear at the National Assembly, which was at once a military and a judicial body. On the national alliance rested the national authority, or, as we should term it to-day, the highest executive power. It was represented by the people politically organised, *i.e.*, the nation. The sovereignty was therefore the sovereignty of the people, resembling in this respect the first beginnings of the German Constitution.

The first political or national organisation of the Hungarians took place therefore in accordance with the forms of public law. The Hungarian army is a national army, not a private fighting force. Árpád and his successors, in their ducal character, were not private war-lords, but public officials of the nation—elected generals who, by the authority invested in them, commanded and led the army.

The primitive Hungarian State did not recognise the feudal institution known as “retainers,” upon which the maintenance of private troops was founded. This is the essential difference between the original Hungarian and German polity.

The political life and political organisation of the Hungarian people did not, even in the later course of mediæval development, lose their legal character, notwithstanding the influence of feudal political ideas and provisions. The kingdom did not content itself with feudal lordship, but developed more and more in the direction of constitutional power upon the basis of public law. The strong public spirit and collectivist ideas, brought by the Hungarian people from their original home, prevented the feudal system, based upon distinctly individualistic principles, from taking the place of the common union.

The King was kept in check in a very important way by material limitations of his power, in spite of the fact that for the first two centuries he had enjoyed absolute power, as the inheritor of the supreme rights formerly possessed by the National Assembly, which were from the beginning of a public character.

The royal power could not pronounce an absolute decision on matters concerning the free members of the nation. The King had no absolute jurisdiction either over the army or the nobles, nor could he claim the property of the latter by way of taxation. At the very time when the English wrested Magna Charta from their King the Hungarians received from King Andrew II., in the Golden Bull

¹ See de Timon's *Ungarische Verfassungs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 22 ff.

(1222), the title-deeds of their rights. In the mind of the Hungarian, the love of freedom for the nation stands far superior to the claims of individual freedom.

As a consequence of the penetration of the feudal political ideas of the West in the course of the thirteenth century, beside the royal power arose other oligarchical powers which invariably claimed the greater share in the exercise of public rights. The administration of justice, as well as of military and financial affairs, ceased to be exclusively a royal prerogative. But as the danger became imminent that the public life of the Hungarian nation would fall under Western influences, and thus become established on the basis of private law—upon the principle of absolute monarchy, which is the negation of the true state idea—the strong public spirit of the Hungarians developed the idea which had taken root in the nation, the idea, namely, of a common power belonging jointly to King and Nation.

The idea of a common power, as opposed to the personal power of the King, assumes concrete form in the conception of the public rights of the Holy Crown, and produces as a logical sequence the theory of the Holy Crown, that is to say, the system of State law depending upon the personification of the Holy Crown.

The conception of the State as a living organism, as a personality, is the fundamental principle of modern statecraft. The mediæval conception overlooked this, and especially the idea of the State in the abstract. Even later, the nations of the Middle Ages, influenced by the principles of law that prevailed in ancient Rome, did not attain to a proper idea of State administration, and thereby to a correct notion of the transferred common power. On the other hand, through the personification of the Holy Crown, the Hungarian nation grasped these ideas before any of the nations of the West.

The Hungarian nation saw the State embodied as an organic whole in the Holy Crown, in the interests of organised society. They regarded the Holy Crown as a mark and symbol of the sovereignty of Hungary, expressing the international independence of the Hungarian nation, even though to outside States it seemed in opposition to sovereignty. On the other hand, it personified it as the custodian of the common power, having its roots in the people, though in the political sense indebted to both. This is present as a mystery in the Holy Crown.¹

The acceptance of this interpretation of public law began to set in at the end of the twelfth century, advancing slowly and gradually, and can only be considered to have reached its final stage in the period of King Sigismund. The personality of the Holy Crown ere

¹ I first met the word *mystery* in this sense in the Manifesto of the Hungarian Diet of 1440, Kovachich, *Vestigia Comitiorum*, p. 235 ff.

long forms the foundation of the Constitution. Every factor of the State life comes directly into relationship therewith, and receives therefrom its function. The highest common power is not a power bound up with the personality of the ruler, but is the authority of the Holy Crown (*iurisdictio Sacræ regni Coronæ*); the high rights of the State are no longer the rights of the royal majesty, but of the Holy Crown—rights due to the Holy Crown as an ideal personality, and passed on to the King through it.

The dominion of the State is the territory of the Holy Crown, the royal revenues are the revenues of the Holy Crown (*bona vel peculia Sacræ regni Coronæ*); and so long as the constitutional law of ownership, the so-called "Avitizität" of King Louis the Great, existed, every right of free ownership was derived from the Holy Crown as its root (*radix omnium possessionum*), and reverted to the Holy Crown after the extinction of the lineal descendants. The Hungarian donational system was therefore based, contrary to Western feudal constitutional ownership, not upon private but upon public law. The donation was exclusively an act of public law enacted by the royal wearer of the Holy Crown.

From the mystery of the Holy Crown proceeds the theory that in it the nation is one with the King. All who derive their inheritance from the Crown were once members of the Holy Crown (*membra Sacræ regni Coronæ*), and as such participated in the exercise of the public powers belonging to it; but to-day, since the laws of 1848 have decreed the equality of the citizenship of the whole Hungarian people, all who inhabit the territory of the Holy Crown form, in union with the royal wearer thereof, that united whole in public law, that living organism called in mediæval documents "the whole body of the Holy Crown" (*totum corpus Sacræ regni Coronæ*), but which to-day we call the State.

This theory is by no means derived from clerical representations; it does not demonstrate the mediæval Mystery of Christ, nor does it bear any genétic relation thereto. Here we have to do with a real construction of State law. It is the peculiar creation of the constitutional development of the Hungarian people, and even to-day forms the central point of Hungarian State law.

The idea and the nature of the transferred common power have already been clearly and definitely formulated by Verböczy in his *Tripartitum* (tit. 3, § 6, p. 1), accepted by the Diet in 1514, as it had never before that time been recognised in Western Europe, not even in England. The State Constitution founded on the theory of the Holy Crown stands, by virtue of its legal basis and forms, much nearer to the constitutions of modern States than to the feudal constitution of the Middle Ages proper, and to the absolute

patrimonial constitution of later periods, both of which are based on the rules and forms of private law. It could therefore withstand the invasion of the newer ideas of State longer than the feudal and absolute constitutions of the West. Even the transformation which the Constitution underwent in 1848, when the equality of all citizens before the law was recognised, was in reality but an extension of its fundamental principles.

Every function of State authority obtains a legal character and constitutional form. Thus the legislative power appears beside it as a constitutional power shared alike by King and Nation.

Already in the reign of King Sigismund the fundamental principle of law was laid down that a law, to be valid, could only be created by King and Parliament acting in concert. Only when the whole body of the Hungarian Crown (*totum corpus Sacrae regni Coronæ*), that is to say, the crowned King and the members of the Holy Crown were present in legislation, could laws be made. This important principle of State law is very precisely formulated by Verböczy in his *Tripartitum*. In this way the exact difference between law and ordinance was established.

The individual will of the King cannot create a law. A law is the unanimously expressed will of King and Parliament, *i.e.*, the will of the Holy Crown, which can never be re-enacted by royal decree, neither can it be nullified. Decisions issued without the consent of Parliament—for instance, the ordinances of the Great Council—are ordinances only, and not laws. Whence it follows that the royal ordinances may be revised or abolished at any time, in short, by the one party only; while the laws can only be altered or abrogated by the mutual consent of King and Parliament, since the law (according to Verböczy) binds the King also.

Under the rule of the Habsburgs the right of Parliament to share in the making of laws has never been questioned, notwithstanding the strenuous absolutist endeavours made from time to time.

The best proof of this is furnished by the history of Act XXII. of 1604, which was added arbitrarily by King Rudolph to the decrees of Parliament. After the successful insurrection of Stephen Bocskay, it was declared in Article I. of the Peace of Vienna that the Act referred to should be abolished, having been entered without the consent of the Diet.

The competence of Parliament extends without restriction and exception to all affairs of State; no kind of State affairs appertaining to Parliament can be withdrawn from its competence. There are no absolute prerogatives or reserved rights over which Parliament has not a restrictive influence. The constitutional character of the

transferred sovereign rights excludes entirely the idea of any such reserved rights. The royal prerogatives are constituted and limited by the Legislature. This conception of State law is expressed in Act XI. of 1741: "The Queen at Court will avail herself of the support and advice of her faithful Hungarian subjects on all matters proceeding from the supreme power, in accordance with her discretion and royal position."

From the Golden Bull to the present time our laws consist of innumerable decisions in which the royal prerogatives are fixed and the exercise thereof limited. As with the legislative power, so also with the executive; especially in matters pertaining to War, Finance, and Judicature, which are divided between the wearer of the Holy Crown and the members thereof. This division probably came about through feudal influences and provisions which outweighed the principles of individuality, and thus detracted from the principle of sovereignty, representing State interests. But it never went the length of annihilating the unity of the State embodied in the idea of the Holy Crown. That would be to put in its place the dualism of sovereign rights and legislative rights, after the example of the patrimonial monarchies of the West.

The development of the State law theory of the Holy Crown brought about important changes, especially in so far as the exercise of financial power was concerned. The royal domains and revenues are now the property of the Holy Crown, of which the King can no longer dispose freely and absolutely. In this way the theory of inalienable Crown lands was developed. Further, without the consent of the Diet the King can only claim the ancient revenues of the Royal Treasury, to which from time immemorial belong the revenues from the mint and the technically designated "Portal Duty" (*lucrum cameræ*). In the event of an exceptional or war tax (*contributio, dica, or subsidium*), this rule of law has been held valid from the beginning—that the King can neither impose nor collect taxes without the consent of the Diet. King and Parliament together—that is to say, the *totum corpus Sacræ regni Coronæ*—must determine the object of the tax, the amount thereof and exemptions therefrom, and frequently the mode of levying the tax. Article I. of the Decree of 1504 surrounds with a special guarantee this highly important right of the Diet, which to-day is the foundation of the so-called Budget Law. Should a county consent to the King levying any taxes not sanctioned by the Diet, the nobles of that county would be excluded in perpetuity from the community of the nobles. The right of the Diet to vote taxes has since that time never been questioned.

As regards the administration of justice and government, too,

the longer they last the more thoroughly does the character of an exclusively royal administration vanish. The members of the Holy Crown participate therein in an ever-increasing measure. The members of the Privy and restricted Royal Council and the Royal Courts of Justice owe their position, attained by degrees, not only to the King's confidence, but to their appointment by the Diet. The first Government official, the Palatine, who receives his office from the united will of the King and the Diet, is especially the official of the Holy Crown, whence he derives his power and authority to defend equally the rights of the wearer and members of the Holy Crown; and—as opposed to the King—to represent the nation. The election of the Palatine is the natural consequence of the theory of the Holy Crown. The same observation applies equally to the Crown Guards, also officials of the Holy Crown, and who are also appointed by the common will of King and Diet. This peculiar institution has no counterpart in the States of the West.

The history of the Hungarian Constitution in the Middle Ages tells us, further, of an evolution which was most appropriate, in that it afforded the most comprehensive influence over the Executive. According to Article XXIII. of the Decree of 1298 (King Andrew III.'s so-called Council Law), the King is obliged to maintain at court two bishops alternately for three months at a time, together with an equal number of nobles elected by the Diet to the Council. Should the King fail to comply with this provision, all he might decide upon in the absence of the aforesaid Council, with regard to large donations or appointments to office, would be treated as non-obligatory.

This Council Law of Andrew III. cannot in any sense be regarded as imitating the Council Laws of Western Europe. It approaches far more nearly to the idea of ministerial responsibility than it resembles the institutions of West European States for the introduction of elected Council Boards—such States, for example, as England, Aragon, and Castile. We do not find in any of them the principle laid down that the validity of the royal enactments depended upon the co-operation of the Council.

The Hungarian nation was the first to discover a method of controlling the royal power, which method forms the basis of the representative ministerial government of later times.

The other principle of this kind of government, viz., that the King's counsellors can be called to account, not only for remissness in the performance of their official duties—if in violation of the law, but also politically, if the act be against the welfare of the country—finally and completely succeeded only after the lapse of two centuries, when it was enacted by the Council Law of King Wladislaus II. (Decree of 1507).

In England the same evolution took place under more favourable circumstances; the Privy (or *continual*) Council being chosen from the responsible ministry, thereby forming the parliamentary system of government, which is based upon the principle of ministerial responsibility. The evolution of the English Constitution is doubtless the more complete, as before Edward III. the English kings opposed a constant and successful resistance to the demands for the election of the royal counsellors and public functionaries. In Hungary the greater acquisition of the Diet, the right of election (or at least co-election) of the royal counsellors, turned out to be mischievous, since it signified the weakening of the royal authority and subordinated the King to the supremacy of factions in the Diet.

But after the disaster of Mohács the Royal Council ceased altogether to be the restricting factor in the King's executive power. The more emphatically was expressed the requirement of the theory of the Holy Crown in the Palatinate—especially in the rôle of the Palatine as the necessary representative of the King during his absence abroad—that the nation, *i.e.*, the entire members of the Holy Crown, should act as the executive power and thus prevent the arbitrary use of the Crown.

The influence of this ancient Hungarian constitutional establishment was evidenced also in the setting up of a responsible ministry, as provided by Act III., 1848, § 2. "In the absence of His Majesty from the country, the Palatine and Royal Lieutenant (*Statthalter*) exercises with plenary authority the executive power in Hungary and its provinces, by warrant of the unity of Crown and Realm."

In 1867 the appointment of the Palatine was suspended for an indefinite period.

Another highly important provision of the Hungarian Constitution, intended to limit the executive power of the King, is the self-government and autonomy of the counties. The idea also of the County Commons (*universitas nobilium*) was developed on the basis of the authority of the Holy Crown. The County Commons, equal in rights to the English counties; on the one hand, perform their functions as Noble Commons, on the basis of the State's transference of the executive power, within their own boundaries, independently, through their own members; on the other hand, they conduct their own affairs, independently, within the limits of the law; and this constitutes true autonomy.

The self-government of the counties reached the climax of its constitutional importance when they deemed it their right and duty to control the central government in regard to the legal use of the

Constitution, and to decline the execution of unconstitutional State ordinances. The counties claimed the "Right of Remonstrance" on the basis of Act XXXIII. of 1545, found among other principles of State law, in opposition to the illegal royal ordinances. If this had failed of the desired result, they would then have taken refuge in another remedy—*vis inertiae*, or passive resistance—thereby delaying the execution of the unsatisfactory ordinance.

Every county, as a Noble Common, as a Common of the members of the Holy Crown, with the Lord-Lieutenant (the King's representative) at its head, represents the whole body of the Holy Crown—figuratively speaking, the State in miniature. It shares in the power, and as a complete organism, it shares also in an independent manner in the life of the Holy Crown.

The fulfilment of the theory of the public rights of the Holy Crown, and the right of possession connected therewith, procured for the towns of Hungary an immense legal importance, in securing to them the rights and privileges of a state of the Realm.

On the ground of their rights of free possession, the towns became noble personalities—members of the Holy Crown—and as such shared in the exercise of the public power pertaining to the Holy Crown. Since the reign of King Sigismund they have, in fact, been permanently represented in the Diet. They remain, indeed, more dependent upon the Holy Crown than the other nobles. This greater dependence has been especially expressed in the payment of certain property-taxes in favour of the royal power, which could not be levied on the other nobles. The Royal Free Towns are the property of the Holy Crown: *bona et peculia Sacrae regni Coronae*.

Upon membership of the Holy Crown—i.e., upon the collective nobility of the town—is also based the legal position as to citizenship in a town. The ordinary citizen is not an immediate member of the Holy Crown, nor a noble, nor does he participate in the freedom of the nobility, except of a particular town or free citizenship. This development also has no analogy in the evolution of the constitutions of Western States.

Since the Hungarian nation regarded the Holy Crown as the symbol of the State, and saw personified in it the supreme power of the State, the legal axiom must have obtained that the coronation necessarily implied the constitutional ownership of the royal power.

A law prescribing the coronation was quite unnecessary. Any such law was substituted in an efficient manner by the active national comprehension of law that considered the legality of the royal power to be dependent upon the coronation. By the Decree of 1687 and the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, the Hungarian nation, indeed, waived its right to the election of the King in favour of the

primogenitive succession of the House of Habsburg. Nevertheless the heir-apparent derives his power in law only through the Holy Crown. Act II. of 1687, as well as the Pragmatic Sanction, contain the clearly expressed provision that the King must be crowned before he can execute diplomas of guarantee or take the oath of fidelity to the Constitution.

Without the coronation there is no legitimate Sovereign, no legal authority, for (according to Verböczy) there is no binding allegiance, as the perfectly free members of the Nation, the nobles, are only bound to the power of a legally crowned King (*rex legitime coronatus*).

This primitive political conception, which is also expressed in Act III. of 1790, declares that the coronation must take place, without opposition (*inomis*se), within six months of the King's accession to the throne.

During this interval the hereditary King (*hereditarius rex*) is only permitted to exercise a circumscribed governing power. The conferring of privileges, under which—according to an ancient Hungarian law—is comprehended the sanctioning of laws, is the prerogative only of a legally crowned monarch. If the interval, as prescribed by law, for the coronation, be allowed to expire, the continuity of law is broken; the deeds and ordinances of the hereditary King become null and void from the point of view of public law. He has therefore no authority to sanction laws, neither can he exercise the supreme power in any legal manner.

With the institution of the coronation two important constitutional guarantees are closely connected: the Oath of Fidelity to the Constitution and the Diploma of Guarantee; the one representing the *religious* and the other the *documentary* guarantee of the constitutional jurisdiction of the Hungarian State.

The coronation must take place at the Diet convoked for that purpose. Moreover, a fundamental principle of Hungarian law enjoins that, at the coronation, the Holy Crown of St. Stephen must be used. According to the national consciousness the *mystery*, i.e., the constitutional effect, of the coronation, is bound up with the Holy Crown. This is proved satisfactorily enough by the history of the coronation of Andrew III., Charles Robert, Wladislaus I., and Matthias I.

In the Holy Crown is embodied the political unity of the Realm of St. Stephen, embracing also the adjacent lands, for those, too, are members of the Holy Crown.

Just as there is only one crown, the symbol of the supreme power and personifying its possessor, so there is but one uniform royal power. The coronation, the coronation oath, the diploma

of guarantee, all are uniform for the whole Hungarian realm, just as the citizenship of the Hungarian State is also uniform.

The thousand years' existence of the Hungarian nation as an organised political state is bound up indissolubly with the Holy Crown; and the constitutional and international independence of the Hungarian nation stands or falls with the Holy Crown. From the general public consciousness of this relationship may be explained the strong monarchical sentiments of the Hungarian people, which is without doubt manifested so vividly in no other European nation. The Hungarian nation beholds in the Holy Crown her greatest guarantee—the palladium of her constitutional life and liberty.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE RÔLE OF RUSSIA IN THE MUTUAL APPROACH OF THE WEST AND THE EAST

By Dr. ALEXANDER YASTCHENKO,

Professor of Law at the University of Dorpat, Russia.

I.

THE long struggle of the Western and Eastern worlds, which we trace throughout history, is not a mere expression of animosity between two races; it represents the collision of two different standards of life, two systems of thought. In spite of all that we do to bring together the East and the West, we see that they always contain something foreign to each other, something profoundly opposed and frequently hostile.

This difference is due to the mental complexion of the races, the disposition of their minds. Nations organise their life and compose their social relations according to the way in which they grasp the meaning of their existence. No doubt, the general lines of human psychology are the same everywhere and common to all races; our assurance of the ultimate pacification and unification of humanity is based precisely on that fact. All nations are sociable, and are in quest of happiness; but they understand it in different ways. The contrast between the East and the West is seen best in the exalted province of their ideology, their latest effort to understand their life and the existence of the world. But when we pass the limits of this lofty spiritual life, the province of the most perfect expressions of the mind of the race, and descend to the lower sphere of the material life, we find a very slight difference between them, and this difference is often accidental, a difference of details, external,

not internal and essential. We find in the East as well as in the West the mass of the people living the semi-conscious life of a sensual and almost animal nature. We see that there is no essential difference between the sceptical materialism of Europe and the positivism of China; between the atheistic free-thought and irreligion that exist in the West and the indifference of the Chinese masses to questions of faith, and their equal readiness to accept the most diverse religions.

If, however, we turn to the province of the highest productions of the mind, we at once detect in the East the ancient tendency towards a negative universalism of the moral conscience. At the very dawn of the Eastern civilisation we meet two systems of pessimistic philosophy, the systems of Sakya-mouni and of Lao-tse. The external world, the phenomena of nature, and the individual consciousness with its sorrows, its joys, and its hopes, are illusory and deceptive; all divisions of men are imaginary; nothing is real but the love, the sympathy, and the universal compassion, which inspires every living soul. The real visible world can no more be accepted than a mirage; the very foundations of material life are rejected. From that principle we get asceticism and the preaching of universal charity. The philosophy of these two pessimists was embodied in the religious systems of Buddhism and Taoism.

While the negative universalism of the Buddhist is peculiar to the East in the province of the purely religious consciousness, the idea of order, as the ideal of social arrangement, is familiar to it in the field of social convictions. Society is conceived, not as something fluid, changing, and evolving, but as an unchangeable equilibrium, as a certain order confined within eternal limits. This exaggeration of the idea of order, as if it were a foundation of society, is in China associated with an exclusive cult of the past. This cult of the past becomes in Confucianism the real cult of the gods. And when all the social relations are established once for all, and the dead ancestors dominate the actual life, the individual disappears in the species, and the social principle triumphs definitively over the individual principle. The too narrow adoration of the past leads to a contempt of the present and, necessarily, to the denial of the future.

The fundamental and general character of the Oriental mind is seen in its detachment from life and in its leaning towards a purely mystical conception of the world.

Differently from the East, the West, with its Aryan race, has leaned from immemorial time toward the pagan spirit, the cult of the living forces of external nature. To accept the world is just as characteristic of the West as to reject it is of the East. The Aryan

delights in the varying world of natural phenomena; he does not mortify, but loves and adorns, the flesh. He has a simple belief in the reality of this resplendent world, with its brilliant colours and its harmonious sounds. He lives in the present, and knows not the cult of the past. His eye is always toward the present. Hence his victories over the forces of nature, the marvels of his technical skill, the so-called advantages of civilisation.

Not only the present in the narrow sense of the word, but also that further expression of it the future, attracts the man of the West. His mind is steeped with the idea of progress, development, evolution. Everything is open to improvement, and therefore capable of reform and destruction. This progress is brought about by the action of individual forces. The social order is not a rigid mechanism, but an organic body, in which there is a constant dynamic evolution. The collective principle does not destroy individuality; the personality seeks always to affirm its power.

The mind of Europe, and of the West generally, is characterised by its realism and its tendency to positivism. In its knowledge of the world it trusts especially to the senses and its reasoning faculty. It is therefore, in philosophy, inclined to rationalism and empiricism. Even in religion it leads toward a rationalistic explanation of the ineffable divine mysteries, and it even tries in Protestantism to obtain a rational understanding of mystical Christianity.

The mystic life is not, however, wholly inaccessible to the Aryan world. It has more than once admitted the mystic creations of the East; but, in harmony with its practical and vital character, it endeavours to introduce even into mysticism the utmost clearness of mind, precision, and arrangement. Catholic Christianity is a similar Aryan elaboration of the religious mysticism of the East.

Even to-day, in spite of the return to the old pagan spirit, we still find in Europe a vital struggle of mediæval Christianity against the pagan renaissance.

In the last century we can detect a movement in the direction of the Buddhist spirit of the East, not in the express shape of the Buddhist religion, which is itself far removed from the profoundly detached spirit of its founder, but in the shape of a spread of those pessimistic convictions which are responsible for the success of the philosophies of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Guyau. In this new note we have a rejection of the old princely and overpowering joyfulness of the Aryan.

II.

The decree of fate has placed Russia at the junction of the East and the West. In that circumstance we must seek the conditions of

its history. It is a situation that imposes on it grave duties and a great mission. All the sufferings, the miserable discords, the trouble, and the constant efforts which run through the whole life of the Russian people are, just as much as its achievements and its conquests, the outcome of its intermediate situation. In the great conflict between the genius of the East and that of the West, the part of reconciler naturally fell to Russia. This synthetic action of Russia is based on its twofold nature, its profound dualism. The two hostile elements—the Mongol element of the East and the Aryan element of the West—are blended in Russia. It is the real two-faced Janus. Europe and Asia conduct their age-long quarrel within its confines, and its Imperial emblem, the two-headed eagle, is a perfect symbol of this duplication of the political principle of Russia. And this very emblem bears, on the breast of the eagle, the symbol of the final triumph over this dualism: Saint George destroying the dragon (the ancient emblem of Muscovy).

From the first the history of Russia is full of the struggle of the East and the West. The Russian tribes had continually to deal with the peoples of the East, the Huns and the Avars, even at a time when the Russian State was not yet constituted—from the fourth to the seventh century. Then came the Khosars and the Petchenegs. St. Vladimir, who introduced Christianity, built fortresses on the western frontier against the peoples of Asia. After the time of Jaroslav the Wise, the Polvetz made their appearance, and assailed the Russian territory for two centuries. At length, in the middle of the thirteenth century, there is a furious encounter, and the domination of the Tartars is established for two centuries. From the time of the Muscovite Tsar Ivan III., we find a pronounced movement in the opposite direction, a movement of Russia toward the peoples of Asia. The steppe is unbounded; its fringes are lost in the infinite horizon. The frontiers of Russia advance farther and farther until the moment when, at length, the Russian Cossacks make their appearance on the shores of the great ocean. In the eighteenth century the Crimea and New Russia are conquered. In the nineteenth, the Caucasus and Turkestan. The whole thousand years of Russian history have been spent in heavy and constant warfare against the nomadic peoples and the States of the East. This long intercourse on the field of battle involuntarily gives a certain Oriental impress to Russia; a large number of Oriental peoples have become subject to it; its political frontiers largely coincide with those of Turkey, Persia, and China.

But at the same time the whole aspiration of Russia is toward Europe. It has adopted the Byzantine form of Christianity, and for a long time it maintained a commerce with the Hanseatic free

towns. Since the reforms of Peter the Great it has resolutely undertaken its complete Europeanisation. Constitutional and administrative reforms are carried out in the spirit of European politics, and great efforts are made to assimilate the science of the West. Its art, flourishing luxuriantly in its popular inspiration, passes completely on to the lines of European æsthetics, and takes part in the general advance of the artistic history of the West. All the scientific, philosophical, political, and social movements of the West have a pronounced echo in Russia, and the story of its civilisation cannot be detached from that of Europe generally.

These two antagonistic principles are the causes of the painful moral and political struggle which characterises the recent history of Russia. On the one hand is the really Asiatic principle of an unchangeable political order—order at any cost. That is the reactionary movement. Theorists set forth the pure Oriental ideal of an absolute State, in which the monarch is not merely the dispenser of power by divine right, but is himself a viceregent of God. The autocratic doctrine of these theorists entirely resembles the Chinese theory of an unchangeable celestial empire, in which the emperor is regarded as the Son of Heaven. The state, the political organisation, has an ecclesiastical complexion; it is, in other words, regarded as divine—which is blasphemous from the Christian point of view. Society is, in conformity with Oriental ideas, conceived as a rigid and definitive equilibrium of certain given relations. Everything must be regulated, as in a hive of bees; order must reign throughout; the generations which succeed each other must be merely so many stereotyped proofs of those that preceded. The complete denial and dread of progress, and the unlimited political absolutism, are merely a striking expression of the Oriental element. Religion itself is, in this case, a blind, traditional religion, almost more polytheistic than Christian; because the saints, the icons, and the ceremonies lose their meaning as symbols and means, and become idols and ends.

As a complementary colour to this divinisation of the actual we then find a radically opposed and irreconcilably hostile movement—though from the same source and, on the whole, of the same spirit—the Nihilist movement. The Nihilist movement keeps pace with absolutism like a shrill note of accompaniment. In its nature it is purely Eastern, and entirely alien to the Aryan spirit of the West. This denial of all absolute values, this tendency to destroy everything and reject all authority, is really Buddhistic. Our imperfect world, with all its illusory conventions, and its complex social and psychic combinations, is reviled with a fervour that is Oriental, mystic, sombre, and obscure. This Buddhistic-Nihilist rejection of the

world is imperfectly expressed in numbers of mystic popular sects. It made its appearance, without recognising its own true nature, in revolutionary Anarchism; it even made an impression on such representatives of the intellectual world, if not of genius, as Leo Tolstoi.

We have expounded the two most expressive theoretical indications of the Eastern element in the Russian nature which are completely alien to the Western world. But the Western element is also found in the Russian character. If the Mongolian absolutist tendency and the Buddhist tendency to Nihilism have found their place especially in the Government and in the people, the middle and so-called "intellectual class" betrays an exaggerated leaning to the most characteristic Western principles—the denial of religious faith and of mystic knowledge, the exclusive acceptance of science, belief in progress, positivism and rationalism, and the limitation of men's aims to the realisation of the Kingdom of God on this earth only. This tendency may very well be described as the religion of humanity, the apotheosis of man.

This Western tendency, excluding every divine principle from the life of man, seems to be profoundly atheistic. Religion is a prejudice in its view; there is no mystic insight into the hidden things of the world; power is a thing created by men themselves. From that we get the democratic principle of the sovereignty of the people and the ethic of utilitarianism, or the consecration of egoism. From that also we get the idea of class-war and of social egoism, the contempt of tradition, of every established habit of life, and, in fine, an exclusive tendency toward a purely intellectual education.

The Western tendency, however, starting from the opposite direction to that of Orientalism—if we may give that name to Absolutism and Nihilism—and making the complete circuit of evolution, has reached the same result: the denial of the meaning of life. The existence of the world is, when we exclude a divine purpose, absurd. The existence of man, that fortuitous, temporal, and mortal phenomenon, is equally absurd, because it has no foundation. Society itself is absurd, because it is doomed to disappear like each individual thing, and, like everything in a world predestined to eternal destruction, and destitute of any divine inspiration, it has within it no eternal and intrinsic value.

Thus the Western and Eastern tendencies meet in their final and extreme consequences; but the result is purely negative. It leads to the destruction of the meaning of life, and we do not find in it the synthesis we seek.

The synthesis is to be found, nevertheless. It has been made more than once, and we often find traces of it in the history of the Russian

spirit. The Slavophiles were inspired by it. As a rule, the Slavophiles are opposed to the "Occidentals" (as the champions of Western civilisation are called in Russia), and quite wrongly, in my opinion. The real struggle is between the absolutists and the democrats, the reactionaries and the radical intellectual class. These two parties are in agreement in principle. The doctrine of the Slavophiles is engaged from the start in a double combat, against the relative falseness of these two tendencies. It is profoundly dualistic, and at the same time synthetic in its fundamental principle.

A certain exclusivism may, no doubt, be found in the Slavophiles. They had a good deal of natural pride. They had, perhaps, the correct point of view in regard to the great part to be played by Russia ; but they were not sufficiently conscious of the synthetic character of that part.

The correct procedure is to oppose, not the West to Russia (as the Slavophiles did), but the West to the East ; to regard Russia as at the same time alien from and identical with the Eastern element and the Western element in their abstract principles. The mistake of the Slavophiles was to make an abyss where there was no such thing, and ought not to be. They were wrong in maintaining that the European spirit is exclusively characterised by a positivistic, materialistic, and destructive tendency. They understood the destiny of Russia to be the realisation of the Christian ideal ; but they forgot that the great synthesis of Christianity was effected by Europe, and that, if the Europe of to-day begins to dissociate itself from it, in a narrow development of its older principles—the principles of the Renaissance, the Aryan, and the Pagan—it has not entirely forgotten it, and still bears within it the living God of Christianity.

But the Slavophiles, especially their deepest representative, W. Soloviev, rightly understood that the great synthesis of universal realisations is to be found in a regenerated Christianity. We have in Christianity a universalism that is positive, not negative. Christianity, like Buddhism, recognises no absolute value except in eternal life, and places the moral ideal only in universal love ; but, in harmony with the Aryan spirit, it denies neither the material and temporal world nor the labour of man. The Aryan idea of progress and of self-assertion is seen in the conception of the Kingdom of God (the domain of the real and eternal life), not as an established fact, but as the great goal of the collective work of humanity, of the action of the universal Church. The ideal of universal charity is also conceived as an ideal of active love, realised in the historical efforts of the whole of humanity in their successive social forms. Christianity teaches the means to attain the eternal goal in this temporal life. It is a belief, not only in the immortality of the soul, but also in the resurrection of

the flesh.' Matter and mind are reconciled in its synthesis. The history of the human race and the Kingdom of God are not two opposite things ; they are interdependent and closely united. History is an advance, from the Christian point of view. The Christian philosophy is evolutionary, but with this great difference from the "evolutionary theory," in the strict sense of the word, that it perceives the final goal of this evolution, and seeks to guide it.

The genius of Russia, in its highest synthetic manifestations, has always reconciled the East and the West ; witness Peter the Great in politics, Puchkine in poetry, Solovien in philosophy, and Tolstoi in religion and morals !

Leo Tolstoi, especially, was a very typical example of the dual character of the Russian soul, with its union of East and West. The doctrines of not resisting evil by force, universal charity, and the rejection of external goods, have an Oriental complexion ; while his Christianity, belief in immortality, and active efforts for the improvement of humanity, are Western in their nature. The spiritual world of Tolstoi, with its imperfect equilibrium, is generally characteristic of Russian life.

III.

If, however, the work of Russia in the mutual approach of East and West is carried on chiefly within its own confines by the difficult construction of the higher synthesis of life, it is not wholly confined to the internal life of Russia, but goes beyond its frontiers. And the first problem we have to face is to determine what attitude Russia ought to adopt in regard to the yellow races, Japan and, especially, China.

Japan never was, either in its history or in its national character—an enterprising, progressive, chivalrous, and warlike character—a distinctively Oriental country ; which shows that the spirit of the East does not depend so much on racial elements as on a whole series of historical conditions. Japan has, by its rapid Europeanisation, its grasp and penetration of the spirit of the West, proved that racial differences will not prevent the white and yellow peoples from drawing together, when we have discovered the common ground for their mutual approach.

Now that Japan has resolutely gone over to the side of the West, the feeling of dread of the East, in which the Westerner, by some atavistic influence, sees something menacing and hostile, is concentrated upon China. It is, assuredly, a world in itself ; some hundreds of millions of men of different origin, having in common a peculiar civilisation, a special tradition, and a different cast of mind. China is the centre of the great problem of "Panmongolism," and of the "Yellow Peril."

Before we decide what ought to be the attitude of Russia in regard to this problem, we must first understand the real nature of the yellow peril.

The yellow peril may, first of all, be conceived as a danger arising, not on the part of the yellow races, but on account of them. Even in the time of Marco Polo, China was famous for its fabulous wealth, and later exploration and study have not merely failed to destroy the ancient legends, but actually shown them to fall short of the truth. The extraordinary fertility of the soil and the abundance of flowing water yield the richest harvests of cotton, tea, rice, and silk; the treasures buried in the bowels of the earth are still richer, as coal, copper, lead, and iron are found in immense quantities. At the same time the axis of the world, which was previously shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, is now gradually shifting to the Pacific. It is surrounded by populous nations, and a rich and new life is developing in its innumerable archipelagos. When the Panama Canal is completed, and the western shores of North and South America and the Polynesian Islands have a denser population, the centre of gravity of the globe will necessarily be shifted to the Pacific. It is natural that certain of the Western Powers should seek to take up preponderant positions in that region, and this gives rise to rivalry and hostility. The yellow peril and the question of the Far East may in the end become a real peril, a menace of struggles and wars between the Powers of the West for a predominant influence in the Far East. That would be a grave danger, seeing that a European war might, in the present circumstances, lead to a great enfeeblement of the Aryan race and put it at the mercy of the united Mongols. In this regard the place of Russia is to prevent a European war with all its strength, by means of alliances and good understandings. Russia, as the nearest Power to the East, and therefore the most sensible of the importance and gravity of the problem, should seek first of all to establish an equilibrium of the white peoples, in order to prevent them from losing their strength in such a struggle, and so giving the necessary counterpoise to the peoples of the East. It ought, in fine, to establish a world-wide equilibrium of the white and yellow peoples.

But the yellow peril is usually understood to mean the danger of a direct attack of the yellow races upon the peoples of the West. This is the peril with which our literature and press constantly deal, and on which our politicians reflect with a certain anxiety. It often rises as a threatening spectre on the far political horizon. This concern is not wholly without foundation. Who knows what changes may not take place in the relation of the various forces of the world when millions of new men enter the arena of its commerce? What

will happen when these masses of people are armed in accordance with the latest demands of military technics? What will be the effect on general civilisation of this introduction of nations with a different civilisation and entirely different principles of life?

On reflection, however, we must recognise that the dread of the yellow peril is greatly exaggerated and, if a wise policy be adopted, misplaced. The military peril naturally seems to be very great. But we must not estimate the military strength of nations by their number only. Wars are not ballots, conducted on the principle of universal suffrage, and the victory is not always on the side of the majority. The chief importance in military struggles lies in the psychological forces and the way in which they are organised.

From what we know of the psychological qualities of the Chinese population, as distinguished from the Japanese, the warlike spirit has no roots in them. The contrast to Japan is explained by the profound difference in the history of the two States. The psychological character, and the warlike spirit in particular, take centuries to form, and it is difficult to imagine that the character of a people can easily change. The other military factor is a solid organisation of the available forces. In this organisation the most important part is played by the general political cohesion, the financial and other material resources, the ardour for the war, the harmony of the action of the rulers, etc. Now, the State-organisation in Western civilisation is incomparably stronger than it is in the East, and in order to attain it China would have completely to transform and reform itself on the European model. But a reformed China will no longer be alien. It will approach the West, enter into international commerce, and be compelled to submit to the general laws of the equilibrium of the world. Humanity is always most closely drawn together by the bonds of solidarity. The great development in our own time of alliances and treaties between different States enables us to foresee, not as a dream, but as a reality, the international organisation of humanity in one political and federated body. China will be compelled to enter this union, or else it will have to deal with the rest of the human race; and in that case, it will face the unbroken ranks of the human army.

The economic peril on the part of China is still less inevitable. People dread the immigration of Chinese workers, fear that wages will be lowered in the countries to which they migrate, and are concerned about the commercial and industrial competition they may experience from a reformed China. The United States, Australia, Canada, and other countries have already closed their doors against the Chinese worker.

We will not enter here upon an examination of the economic laws

which, we think, show the fallacy of the economic peril of China. China has not so dense a population that its workers cannot, with the progress of its own industries, find a market for their labour in their own country. The population of England is three times as dense as the population of China. If the industrialisation of China and the exploitation of its resources increase production, there will be a corresponding increase of consumption. If it sells more, the country will purchase more. Its budget will be larger. With the results of the new economic form, China will experience new demands.

There remains the moral "yellow peril." We do not see any absolute error even in the idea of an immutable social order, the cult of ancestors, or the negative universalism of Buddhism, but merely sound elements of a larger truth. These ideas indeed are an excellent antidote to the one-sidedness of European ways of thinking. There is a greater peril in the gross positivism and practical materialism of the great mass of the people of China, but that is a danger everywhere. The crude animal contentment of the average small mind in Europe is just as real a menace to the future of the West. There is a real danger that the materialistic spirit of China may animate the world, when humanity is united, and the era of universal peace has been established. The ideals of religion and morality will then have to combat the meanness of the human mind.

IV.

If, however, the yellow peril is usually much exaggerated, we must beware of concluding that it does not exist, and that there is no question of the Far East to confront. In political questions, especially questions of international politics, it is ridiculous and dangerous to adopt a purely sentimental attitude and, with naïve kindliness, declare that the goal has already been reached. We must not hastily infer from the theoretical principle of the equality and fraternity of races that they are actually equal at the present time and entertain fraternal feelings in their relations with each other. To say that would be to run counter to the indisputable facts of the situation. It would be an unpardonable levity on the part of any sincere friend of humanity to fail to see the wide distance that there actually is between the yellow and the white races, and the possibility of struggles and hostility between them on that account.

It seems to us that the admission of the radical pacifist principle of general disarmament does not solve the racial problem.

Not that we agree with the opinions of those who believe in the absolute value of warfare, and find in it the mysterious and mystic

character which satisfies the desire of sacrifice and redemption that is so deeply rooted in human nature ; but because we believe that, when there is question of safeguarding things of great value, war is necessary and divine, and to refuse to enter upon it in such cases would be a piece of unworthy pusillanimity and cowardice.

But wars and the struggles of races are abnormal things and must be avoided. That may be done, not by radically abolishing them, but by gradually making them useless. The relations of race to race must be regulated and organised, and the various races must enter as organic members into the life-unity of the whole of humanity. International commerce unites men and races more closely every year. The fusion of races is inevitable, whether we desire it or no ; yet we must do all in our power to realise it as quickly as possible.

The East is characterised by the exaggerated cult of the past, the denial of the world, and the idea of Nirvana ; the West by a no less exaggerated cult of the future, and the acceptance of the world as it presents itself to us. The equilibrium is destroyed on both sides. The failure to recognise the rights of progress in the East leads to stagnation, decadence, decomposition, and, in the end, contempt for the past itself ; because the past has to be reconstructed incessantly by the living toil of new generations. The failure to recognise the rights of the past in the West leads to a situation in which life loses the cohesive quality of organic evolution and becomes a mirage of the onward flow of time, an aimless pilgrimage in the endless space of history.

The part of Russia, as it is understood by the majority of thoughtful Russians, and as it is reflected in the political and philosophical works of Russian thinkers, is to maintain an equilibrium in this antagonistic process. Russia, strong in its Christian creed, is conscious that it possesses a lofty moral ideal. The Kingdom of God is to be attained, not on the earth, but by the work here below of collective humanity ; not as a humanity-God, but as God in humanity ; not by the destructive action of scepticism, but by the scientific realisation of ideal aims. Normal society should be constructed, not for the animal existence of small contented souls, but for divine ends ; because the normal life is a creative evolution of divine character.

The policy of Russia is determined by its Oriental-Occidental situation. Its historical action is always to promote civilisation by the assimilation on the part of Asiatic races of European culture. Each of the great European races has a mission to spread settlements over the earth ; first, the Anglo-Saxons, then the Spaniards, and finally the Germans and the French. Russia fulfils its mission

within its own frontiers, transforming the Eastern and the Western elements in its territory.

We shall not attempt to determine the particular details of a practical policy, which might assist Russia in playing its historical part in reconciling the East and the West, because that is the task of its natural self-realisation in its whole range. Only in pursuing that aim will it fulfil its general historic destiny. Russia will only succeed in showing the world how to reconcile the East and the West if it reveals the presence in it of a living God. In effecting the synthesis of religion and science, it will supply what is lacking both to the East and the West.

As regards its special relations with the East, the understanding of Russia and Japan is natural, and is not only in their own interests, but also in the interest of the harmony of the world. The Russo-Japanese war was an enormous blunder, though it may have been necessary from the historical point of view. Its good results are already apparent in the mutual understanding of the two countries, and the mutual approach of the Japanese and Russian people. Its evil effect was to close against Russia the outlet toward the warm sea of the Gulf of Pechili, that had menaced nobody, and had answered the vital interests of Russia, since it gave an outlet to the broad tracts of Siberia.

The first task that Russia has to undertake in its Eastern policy is a close approach to China by means of the active colonisation of its Asiatic provinces and the construction in Siberia of routes into China. The Oriental civilisation has long been studied in Russia, and the study must be prosecuted with the greatest energy. It is necessary to examine and understand the soul of the East and its secret ideals. But, while conducting this study, Russia must spread its own doctrines. Every possible effort must be made to extend the scientific education of Europe among the Mongols. The preaching of Christianity, especially, must be pressed, not in the form of a commercial enterprise, but as an act of faith and enthusiasm. This propaganda would be more effective if the dream of many great thinkers—the union of the Christian Churches—could be realised.

Many a painful experience still awaits humanity on the hard way to the City of God, to which we aspire. The sacred enthusiasm, which has more than once fired humanity to glorious deeds in the age-long struggle of the East and the West, should fill our hearts to-day!

[Paper submitted in French.]

FOURTH SESSION

(FIRST PART)

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN INTER-RACIAL ECONOMICS

INVESTMENTS AND LOANS

By Dr. AKOS VON NAVRATIL,

*Professor of Political Economy in the University of Kolozsvár,
Hungary.*

OF all the economic relations between different peoples and nations the possibility of transferring capital from one nation or people into the economic system of another is by far the most important and pregnant with results. Among the productive factors of economic life none is now so important as capital, the creative activity of which is characterised by the law of increasing productivity. It is capital, moreover, that is found to be the most mobile of the productive factors in modern processes of exchange, and the most varied forms of its transference from one economic system to another. The soil is associated permanently with an economic system as its natural foundation. Labour is, as has long been recognised, a very difficult thing to transport. Capital, if it find no obstacle in its way, flows over the frontiers of countries, and even across the ocean, to wherever it will be most useful to the economic system and to its possessor, the capitalist.

The aim of these few lines is to impress the great importance of this internationalism—in the highest sense of the word—of capital on the first Universal Races Congress, and briefly to point out its consequences.

From our point of view the transfer of capital is not regarded so much between the various national economic systems as between different races.

Every transfer of capital is an enrichment of some economic system of a lower economic culture by one that has risen to a higher stage of economic culture. In that sense the country that is poor in capital seeks the aid of one that is richer. The latter, however, uses the opportunity to obtain a good interest on its idle capital. A race that is economically inferior to another, and the peoples of that race, seek the productive factors they lack—capital—from peoples that are richer in capital, and this means, practically, from economically higher races. The economically higher race willingly comes to their support with its capital, even across the seas, in order to obtain the utmost advantage from its superfluous productive factors. It is a very clear expression of the internationalism of the economic life on the largest scale.

With the establishment of over-sea relations on the part of the chief countries of Europe—in other words, with the earliest efforts at colonisation—we have the first transfer of capital from one race to others.

It would take us too far to enter fully into the question of colonisation in this brief survey, even from the single point of view of the transfer of capital involved in it. We shall be content to state, as an undeniable fact, that the economic relations that have been set up permanently between races that stand higher in regard to intensive economic culture and such as are at a lower stage—relations which we call colonisation, in the widest sense of the word—always imply a considerable transfer of the productive factors which are superfluous at home. Superior economic culture is precisely characterised by this wealth in accumulated productive factors. And among the productive factors which seem to accumulate in superabundance at home, and seek a better application abroad, the first place is taken by capital. Transfers of capital from one race to another, especially from a Western to an Eastern race, to the advantage of both, are, as history shows, only possible when their relations become the object of a certain regulation having the character of public law, and thus the stability of the economic relations is better assured. I will only refer to the well-known fact of the indebtedness of India to England, that is to say, to the transfers of capital, generally for late repayment, by England to its British-Indian interests, mainly for the construction of railways in former times, but now, since the opening up of the country by modern means of communication, for use in the trade, industry, and agriculture of India. (See Anton Arnold, *Das Indische Geldwesen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Reformen seit 1893*, Jena, 1906; especially pp. 77 and the following.)

We need no further proof that the influx of capital from abroad into an economic system that is at a lower stage of economic culture, and is therefore poorer in capitalistic productive factors, is of great importance. By this influx it acquires what it lacks at home, and without which it finds it impossible to maintain its economic life and ascend to a higher stage of economic culture. Whether the influx of foreign capital takes place in the form of an international loan, in which the indebted State recognises its legal character, and the international relations between the debtor State and that from whose economic system the transferred capital comes remain equal, or some alteration in the legal relations of the two States is implied in the transfer of capital, is simply a question of public law, and therefore of minor interest from our point of view. We need only point out very briefly that in transfers of capital from one race to another such modifications of the politico-legal relations will probably occur; that is to say, the closer connection of the economic interests of the two races in the shape of colonisation will involve the influx of capital from the economically more advanced race to the less advanced. But whether the transfer of capital is effected in one form or another, it remains an undeniable fact that it enriches and beneficially influences the economic system, which has now gained in productive factors.

Even the warmest adherents of the theory of protective tariffs, who contend that home production is encouraged in all its branches by their economic policy, and who make it their final and highest aim to render their own economic system entirely independent of the foreigner, will freely admit that the economic isolation of their country should not be carried out to the exclusion of foreign capital. On the contrary, the influx of foreign capital promotes home production in the most favourable and healthy way, by providing it with the most valuable productive factor, and therefore with the means of developing the national forces.

What we have said in regard to different countries of higher and lower economic culture, applies in even greater measure where there is a racial difference of economic culture, since we may confidently assume an even greater lack of capital on the part of the economically lower race than on the part of a people of less advanced economic development, but of the same race.

According to the ideas of the old Liberal orthodox economic theory this concern is unfounded, and the question is, in any case, superfluous. The Liberal school is a faithful adherent of economic internationalism. It teaches that each national economy merely forms part of the international economic system of the world, and should not, therefore, cut itself off from other countries. It would

have the accumulated capital of the national wealth invested in those branches of production in which the economic system in question is strongest, and can therefore do the most productive work. Products belonging to other departments may be imported from abroad.

Though this principle of the old economic Liberalism may be opposed by perfectly valid objections by the protective tariff system—or, as it would be better to call it, the system of the protection of home labour—I cannot doubt, nevertheless, that all of us will regard as sound the following principle, which is likewise due to economic Liberalism. The principle is: Capital only goes abroad in search of an opportunity to produce when it cannot find such opportunity at home. Capital always remains where it is of the greatest economic public use, and where, consequently, it will be of the greatest use to its owner, or of the greatest private use by bringing him the highest possible interest.

I must be content with a brief reference to this principle; it seems to me superfluous to prove the correctness of it before the members of this Congress. I will merely add that they will find, in the October number of the *Financial Review of Reviews* for 1910, an excellent little article on the subject, with the title "Foreign Investments and Home Employments," from the pen of Mr. J. A. Hobson, which deals thoroughly and very strikingly, as far as British conditions are concerned, with the reasons that might be alleged against foreign investment. The arguments of the distinguished author may be commended to the opponents of foreign investments.

I trust that the First International Races Congress will express the greatest sympathy in regard to foreign investments, for longer or shorter periods, recognising in them one of the most powerful means of peaceful economic co-operation between races of different economic level. It is also trusted that the Congress would like to see States so regulate their economic situations, which are directly or indirectly connected with the international movement of capital, as to afford the greatest freedom for a sound international movement of capital.

[Paper submitted in German.]

WAGES AND IMMIGRATION

By FRED C. CROXTON, *Expert at the Bureau of Labour, Washington*, and Prof. W. JETT LAUCK, *Chief Examiner at the Tariff Board, Washington*.

Source and Industrial Character of Immigrants.—In order to note the effect of immigration on wages in the United States it will be

necessary to take into consideration the country of origin of immigrants arriving in the United States, and particularly to refer to the striking change in the type of immigrants arriving.

The countries of Southern and Eastern Europe furnish more than 70 per cent. of the immigrants now coming to the United States, while two decades ago the same countries furnished less than 20 per cent. The countries of Northern and Western Europe at the present time furnish about 20 per cent. of the immigrants, and two decades ago they furnished more than 70 per cent. These figures do not fully indicate the extent of the change, for the reason that the volume of immigration has increased remarkably, the average number of immigrants arriving per year having just about doubled during the two decades.

The number of immigrants arriving during each decade since 1820, and the proportion from each specified locality, are shown in the following table:—

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES BY DECADES, 1820 TO 1910.

(Compiled from the Reports of the United States Immigration Commission.)

Year ending June 30th.	Total Number of Immigrants.	PER CENT. FROM—		
		Northern and Western Europe.	Southern and Eastern Europe.	Other Specified Countries.
1820-1830	124,640	86'5	3'4	10'1
1831-1840	528,721	92'3	1'2	6'5
1841-1850	1,604,805	95'9	0'4	3'7
1851-1860	2,648,912	94'6	0'9	4'4
1861-1870	2,369,878	89'2	1'6	9'2
1871-1880	2,812,191	73'7	7'1	19'2
1881-1890	5,246,613	72'0	18'3	9'7
1891-1900	3,687,564	44'8	52'8	2'5
1901-1910	8,795,386	21'8	71'9	6'3

A very large proportion of the immigrants coming to the United States prior to 1890 were either from the United Kingdom or from Germany. In the late seventies Norway and Sweden also began contributing considerable numbers. Practically all of the immigrants from Germany, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom came with the intention of making the United States their permanent home, and, with the exception of the Irish, they were largely attracted by the agricultural possibilities. They engaged generally in cultivating the soil, and were an important factor in developing the agricultural wealth of the country. The small proportion entering industrial pursuits were trained and experienced in the particular line of factory work in which they engaged.

With the shifting of the source of immigration has come a marked change in the industrial character of the immigrants. Prior to 1890 the French Canadians were practically the only immigrants, aside from the Irish and a few trained workers of the nationalities above mentioned, who entered wage-earning occupations in any considerable numbers. The newer immigration—that from Southern and Eastern Europe—however, almost exclusively enters industrial occupations and competes, to a greater or less extent, with native-born workers and workers belonging to races of earlier immigration. They are also, with the exception of the Russian Hebrews, to a considerable degree transient residents. They are practically all untrained workers and possessed of but meagre financial means, and therefore are compelled to accept any wage offered and to work under such conditions as to hours, sanitation, and mechanical equipment as they may find.

The increase in the proportion of immigrants coming from certain countries of Southern and Eastern Europe has been remarkable. In 1907, the year of largest immigration, 883,126 persons, or almost 70 per cent. of the 1,285,349 immigrants, were from the three countries, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia. The number of immigrants from these three countries combined did not reach 50,000 in any year until 1882, and did not reach 100,000 in any year until 1887.

Extent of Employment of Immigrants.—The United States Immigration Commission in its studies of the immigration problem secured detailed information concerning 619,595 employees in the principal industries of the country east of the Rocky Mountains. Of that number of employees, 346,203, or 55.9 per cent., were foreign-born.

Of the employees in twenty of the most important industries information concerning length of residence in the United States was secured for 290,923 foreign-born persons, and of that number 116,466, or 40 per cent., had been in the United States less than five years. Of the total number belonging to races coming from Northern and Western Europe and Canada, only 17.4 per cent. had been in the United States less than five years, while of the employees of other races—almost entirely from Southern and Eastern Europe—51.1 per cent. had been in the United States less than five years. Slightly more than one-third of the total number of foreign-born employees were of races from Northern and Western Europe and Canada, while of the immigrant employees who had been in the United States less than five years, only 14.3 per cent. were of races from Northern and Western Europe and Canada. The entrance into the factories and mines of the United

States of such large numbers of immigrants, and especially of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, is having a marked effect on wages and working conditions, and this fact will be set forth in the further discussion of this subject.

Reasons for Employment.—The reason for the employment of recent immigrant wage-earners in the United States was primarily due to the inability of the manufacturers and mine-operators to secure other labour in the face of the growing needs of the country. How far there was afterwards a reversal of cause and effect, and to what extent the expansion of the industry was stimulated by the availability of the recent immigrant labour supply, cannot be definitely ascertained. It is a matter of speculation and controversy without any data at present upon which to base an approximate determination. Whatever may have been the opinion of employers as to the desirability of this class of labour, they found it necessary either to employ immigrant labour or delay industrial advancement. They chose the former course, and the present industrial situation is the result.

The absorption of such a large proportion of alien peoples into the mines and manufacturing establishments of the United States was obviously attended by very important results. These effects of the employment of Southern and Eastern Europeans may be briefly considered from (1) the standpoint of the general industrial effects, and (2) from the point of view of native Americans and older employees in the industry. Before entering into a discussion of these effects, however, it will be necessary, in order that the situation may be fully comprehended, to review briefly the personal and industrial qualities of the immigrants. These are briefly set forth below.

Salient Characteristics of the Recent Immigrant Labour Supply.—

1. One of the facts of greatest import relative to the newer immigration has been that an exceedingly small proportion have had any training while abroad for the industrial occupations in which they have found employment in the United States. The bulk of recent immigrants has been drawn from the agricultural and unskilled labour classes of Southern and Eastern Europe. Most of them were farmers or farm labourers or unskilled labourers in their native lands. The only exception is shown by the Hebrews, three-fifths of whom were engaged in some form of manufacturing before coming to this country.

2. The newer immigrant labour supply, owing to the fact that it is composed of non-English speaking races and is characterised by a high degree of illiteracy, has been found to possess but small resources upon which to develop industrial efficiency and advance-

ment. Owing to their segregation and isolation from the native American population in living and working conditions, their progress in acquiring the use of the English language and in learning to read and write, has been very slow.

3. A salient fact in connection with the newer immigrant-labour supply has been the necessitous condition of the newcomers upon their arrival in American industrial communities. Immigrants from the south and east of Europe have usually had but a few dollars in their possession when their final destination in this country had been reached. During the past eight years the average per person among immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe has been only about one-third as much as among immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, consequently they have found it absolutely imperative to engage in work at once. They have not been in a position to take exception to wages or working conditions, but must obtain employment on the terms offered.

4. The standards of living of the newer industrial workers from the south and east of Europe have also been very low. Moreover, the recent immigrants being usually single, or, if married, having left their wives abroad, have been able to adopt a group instead of a family living arrangement, and thereby to reduce their cost of living to a point far below that of the American or of the older immigrant in the same industry. The method of living often followed is that commonly known as the "boarding-boss" system. Under this arrangement a married immigrant or his wife, or a single man constitutes the head of the household, which, in addition to the family or the person constituting the head of the group, will usually be made up of two to sixteen boarders or lodgers. The head of the group is called a "boarding boss." Each lodger pays the "boarding boss" a fixed sum, ordinarily from \$2 to \$3 each month, for lodging, cooking, and washing, the food being usually bought by the "boarding boss," and its cost shared equally by each individual member of the group. Another common arrangement is for each member of the household to purchase his own food and have it cooked separately. Under these general methods of living, which are frequently found among the immigrant households, the entire outlay for necessary living expenses of each adult member ranges from \$9 to \$15 each month. The additional expenditures of the recent immigrant wage-earners are small. Every effort has been made to save as much as possible. The entire life interest and activity of the average wage-earner from Southern and Eastern Europe has seemed to revolve about three points: (1) To earn the largest possible amount under the existing conditions of work; (2) to live upon the basis of minimum cheapness; and (3) to save as

most important effect observable is seen in the creation of a number of special occupations, the incumbents of which perform the dangerous or responsible work as a whole which before the employment of Southern and Eastern Europeans was distributed over the entire operating force. The best example of this tendency is to be found in the newly developed occupation of "shot-firer" in bituminous and anthracite coal-mines. The mine worker in this occupation prepares and discharges the blasts or shots for bringing down the coal. Until within recent years each miner did his own blasting; but with the employment of the untrained Southern and Eastern Europeans in the mines it was soon found that the safety of the operating forces and the maintenance of the quality of the output required that blasting should be largely done by experienced native American or older immigrant employees. The relation between industrial accidents and the employment of recent immigrants as well as the effect upon wages and conditions of employment arising from the entrance of a large body of Southern and Eastern Europeans into the American industrial system is set forth in detail at a later point.

Effect of the Employment of Recent Immigrants upon Native American and Older Immigrant Employees.—Relative to the effect of recent immigration upon native American and older immigrant wage-earners in the United States, it may be stated, in the first place, that the lack of industrial training and experience of the recent immigrant before coming to the United States, together with his illiteracy and inability to speak English, has had the effect of exposing the original employees to unsafe and insanitary working conditions, or has led to the imposition of conditions of employment which the native American or older immigrant employees have considered unsatisfactory and in some cases unbearable. When the older employees have found dangerous and unhealthy conditions prevailing in the mines and manufacturing establishments and have protested, the recent immigrant employees, usually through ignorance of mining or other working methods, have manifested a willingness to accept the alleged unsatisfactory conditions. In a large number of cases the lack of training and experience of the Southern and Eastern European affects only his own safety. On the other hand, his acquiescence to dangerous and insanitary working conditions may make the continuance of such conditions possible, and this may become a menace to a part or to the whole of an operating force of an industrial establishment. In the mining occupations the presence of an untrained employee may constitute an element of danger to the entire body of workmen. There seems to be a direct causal relation between the extensive employment of

recent immigrants in American mines and the extraordinary increase within recent years in the number of mining accidents. It is an undisputed fact that the greatest number of accidents in bituminous coal-mines arise from two causes: (1) the recklessness, and (2) the ignorance and inexperience of employees. When the lack of training of the recent immigrant while abroad is considered in connection with the fact that he becomes an employee in the mines immediately upon his arrival in this country, and when it is recalled that a large proportion of the new arrivals are not only illiterate and unable to read any precautionary notices posted in the mines, but also unable to speak English, and consequently without ability to comprehend instructions intelligently, the inference is plain that a direct causal relation exists between the employment of recent immigrants and the increase in the number of fatalities and accidents in the mines. No complete statistics have been compiled as to the connection between accidents and races employed, but the figures available clearly indicate the conclusion that there has been a direct relation between the employment of untrained foreigners and the prevalence of mining casualties. The mining inspectors of the several coal-producing States, the United States Geological Survey, and the older employees in the industry, bear testimony in this respect to the effect of the employment of the Southern and Eastern European.

In the second place, the extensive employment of recent immigrants has brought about living conditions and a standard of living with which the older employees have been unable, or have found it extremely difficult, to compete. This fact may be readily inferred from what has already been said relative to the methods of domestic economy of immigrant households and the cost of living of their members.

In the third place, the entrance into the operating forces of the mines and manufacturing establishments in such large numbers of the races of recent immigration has also had the effect of weakening the labour organisations of the original employees, and in some industries has caused their entire demoralisation and disruption. This condition has been due to the character of the recent immigrant labour supply and to the fact that such large numbers of recent immigrants have found employment in American industries within such a short period of time. The significant result of the whole situation has been that the influx of the Southern and Eastern Europeans has been too rapid to permit of their complete absorption by the labour organisations which were in existence before the arrival of the recent immigrant wage-earners. In some industries the influence and power of the labour unions are concerned

only with those occupations in which the competition of the Southern and Eastern European has been only indirectly or remotely felt, and consequently the labour organisations have not been very seriously affected. In the occupations and industries in which the pressure of the competition of the recent immigrant has been directly felt, either because the nature of the work was such as to permit of the immediate employment of the immigrant or through the invention of improved machinery his employment was made possible in occupations which formerly required training and apprenticeship, the labour organisations have been completely overwhelmed and disrupted. In other industries and occupations in which the elements of skill, training, and experience were requisite, such as in certain divisions of the glass manufacturing industry, the effect of the employment of recent immigrants upon labour organisations has not been followed by such injurious results.

In the fourth place, it may be stated that the competition of the Southern and Eastern European has led to a voluntary or involuntary displacement in certain occupations and industries, of the native American and of the older immigrant employees from Great Britain and Northern Europe. These racial displacements have manifested themselves in three ways. In the first place, a large proportion of native Americans and older immigrant employees from Great Britain and Northern Europe have left certain industries, such as bituminous and anthracite coal-mining and iron and steel manufacturing. In the second place, a part of the earlier employees who remained in the industries in which they were employed before the advent of the Southern and Eastern European, have been able, because of the demand growing out of the general industrial expansion, to rise to more skilled and responsible executive and technical positions which required employees of training and experience. In the larger number of cases, however, where the older employees remained in a certain industry after the pressure of the competition of the recent immigrant had begun to be felt, they relinquished their former positions and segregated themselves in certain occupations. This tendency is best illustrated by the distribution of employees according to race in bituminous coal-mines. In this industry all the so-called "company" occupations, which are paid on the basis of a daily, weekly, or monthly rate, are filled by native Americans or older immigrants and their children, while the Southern and Eastern Europeans are confined to pick-mining and the unskilled and common labour. The same situation exists in other branches of manufacturing enterprise. In most industries the native American and older immigrant workmen who have remained in the same occupations in which the recent immigrants are predominant are the thriftless, unprogressive elements

of the original operating forces. The third striking feature resulting from the competition of Southern and Eastern Europeans is seen in the fact that in the case of most industries, such as iron and steel, textile and glass manufacturing, and the different forms of mining, the children of native Americans and of older immigrants from Great Britain and Northern Europe are not entering the industries in which their fathers have been employed. All classes of manufacturers claim that they are unable to secure a sufficient number of native-born employees to insure the development of the necessary number of workmen to fill the positions of skill and responsibility in their establishments. This condition of affairs is attributable to three factors: (1) General or technical education has enabled a considerable number of the children of industrial workers to command business, professional, or technical occupations apparently more desirable than those of their fathers; (2) the conditions of work which have resulted from the employment of recent immigrants have rendered certain industrial occupations unattractive to the wage-earner of native birth; and (3) occupations other than those in which Southern and Eastern Europeans are engaged are sought for the reason that popular opinion attaches to them a more satisfactory social status and a higher degree of respectability. Whatever may be the cause of this aversion of older employees to working by the side of the new arrivals the existence of the feeling has been crystallised into one of the most potent causes of racial substitution in manufacturing and mining occupations.

As regards the effects of the employment of recent immigrants upon wages and hours of work, there is no evidence to show that the employment of Southern and Eastern European wage-earners has caused a direct lowering of wages or an extension in the hours of work in mines and industrial establishments. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the availability of the large supply of recent immigrant labour prevented the increase in wages which otherwise would have resulted during recent years from the increased demand for labour. The low standards of the Southern and Eastern European, his ready acceptance of a low wage and existing working conditions, his lack of permanent interest in the occupation and community in which he is employed, his attitude toward labour organisations, his slow progress toward assimilation, and his willingness seemingly to accept indefinitely without protest certain wages and conditions of employment, have rendered it extremely difficult for the older classes of employees to secure improvements in conditions or advancement in wages since the arrival in considerable numbers of Southern and Eastern European wage-earners. As a general proposition, it may be said that all improvements in conditions and increases in rates of pay

have been secured in spite of the presence of the recent immigrants. The recent immigrant, in other words, has not actively opposed the movements toward better conditions of employment and higher wages, but his availability and his general characteristics and attitude have constituted a passive opposition which has been most effective.

General Conclusions.—If the entire situation be reviewed and the effect of recent immigration be considered in all its industrial aspects, there are several significant conclusions which, although subject to some unimportant restrictions, may be set forth as indicating the general effects of the extensive employment in the mines and industrial establishments of the United States of Southern and Eastern European immigrants. These general conclusions may be briefly summarised as follows:—

1. The extensive employment of Southern and Eastern Europeans has seriously affected the native American and older immigrant employees from Great Britain and Northern Europe by causing displacements and by retarding advancement in rates of pay and improvement in conditions of employment.

2. Industrial efficiency among the recent immigrant wage-earners has been very slowly developed owing to their illiteracy and inability to speak English.

3. For these same reasons the general progress toward assimilation and the attainment of American standards of work and living has also been very slow.

4. The conclusion of greatest significance developed by the general industrial investigation of the United States Immigration Commission is that the point of complete saturation has already been reached in the employment of recent immigrants in mining and manufacturing establishments. Owing to the rapid expansion in industry which has taken place during the past thirty years and the constantly increasing employment of Southern and Eastern Europeans, it has been impossible to assimilate the newcomers, politically or socially, or to educate them to American standards of compensation, efficiency, or conditions of employment.

[Paper submitted in English.]

OPENING OF MARKETS AND COUNTRIES

By JOHN ARTHUR HOBSON, M.A., *London.*

TRADE is the most obvious basis for peaceable intercourse between the inhabitants of countries differing in climate, flora, and fauna, and grade or character of civilisation. For though each race will tend to be evolved with needs and tastes capable of satisfaction from the natural resources of its own country, and by means of the industrial arts there developed for that purpose, every advance in the arts of civilisation, every extension of knowledge regarding the produce and the arts of other countries, every growth of population beyond a certain limit, will impress a sense of the advantages of national—as distinguished from narrowly local—division of labour,

and of such regular commercial intercourse as may enable each of the countries to participate in the special advantages possessed by the others. Mere diversity of economic products does not, of course, suffice to lay the foundations of commerce. A sufficient number of the inhabitants of the two countries must have evolved wants which they cannot satisfy from their home resources, or satisfy so well or cheaply. When international trade has been fairly well developed it is not, of course, necessary that each of the two trading countries should deal directly with the other, balancing their national accounts by immediate shipment of goods or money. One nation may sell largely to another without taking any equivalent amount of goods in payment from the other, the payment coming in the shape of goods imported from some third nation, which has the sort of goods we want, and wants the exports of that other nation which we do not want. A further elaboration of this "round-about" trade enables every modern country to trade with every other, irrespective of whether the two sets of inhabitants are able both to sell to and to buy from one another.

But in the beginnings of foreign trade it often seemed necessary to confine our trade to foreigners who would and could directly trade with us. Where the costs and risks of transport were so heavy as in the early caravan trade with the East, or in early over-seas traffic, it was almost essential that the return voyage should be utilised by bringing back from the country to which goods had been conveyed a direct immediate payment in other merchandise. Otherwise, not only is the return journey wasted, but the other people must make payment in gold or other treasure. Now, though the individual merchant of a foreign country might be willing and able to make such payment for the imported goods he wanted, the public policy of his State generally hindered him. The belief that a country which, in its dealings with another country, exported bullion or treasure was doing an injury to the national welfare, seriously interfered with commerce between European and Asiatic countries in the Middle Ages, and constantly incited an aggressive policy on the part of the former towards the latter. When the courts and aristocracies of Europe began more and more to desire enjoyment of the gold and jewellery, the silks, spices, and other luxuries of the East, they did not possess the wherewithal to buy them in equal commerce, and so were continually tempted to seek them by piracy, forced tribute, or other modes of pillage. As the accumulation of a State treasure came to play a greater part in the public economy of European monarchs, the establishment of profitable commerce upon equal and peaceful terms was very difficult. In the early trade with Arabia, Persia, and India there was very little

which any Western country could have sent to pay for the imported silks and spices, for these peoples had developed almost all the manufacturing arts beyond the European standards. When, later on, maritime enterprise opened up first to the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch, and later to the French and English, backward peoples living in tropical or semi-tropical parts of Africa and America, there were similar difficulties in establishing trade on a mutual basis, similar temptations to substitute plunder or tribute for equal commerce. For the American Indians, the aborigines of the West Indian and Pacific Islands, the Negroes or Negroid peoples of Africa, had no important obvious felt wants which European produce could satisfy, though Europe wanted the sugar, coffee, rice, gold, ivory, and other goods they were capable of supplying.

Such were the preliminary difficulties which impeded genuine trade relations between Europe and Asia, and between white and coloured peoples. The early policy of trading settlements and of merchant companies was greatly hampered by them. Though trade was conducted by privately owned capital for private profit, it never occurred to any Government to leave it to the entirely unrestricted play of the individual interests of those engaged in it. It was almost universally assumed that the State had certain rights and obligations of direction, protection, and control. If groups of individual traders were free to buy unlimited quantities of goods from foreigners, and to dispose of them in the home market, they might choose to pay for them in cash, a policy which might drain the country of its necessary fund of gold or other money. Again, by introducing foreign goods to undersell home industries, they might cause grave damage to staple trades and bring disorders on society. Or they might even take out of the country, for sale to foreigners, materials and capital needed for home industry, or finished articles the home prices of which would be injuriously raised by such unrestricted export. In these and other ways the mediæval and the modern State has generally felt that it had an obligation to regulate foreign trade in the interest of home industry. The present protective system still embodies most of these conceptions of the functions of a State in relation to foreign trade. Though such regulations were by no means confined to the trade of European with Asiatic or with other coloured peoples, they proved very onerous in their restraint upon profitable liberty of trade with newly opened markets. When large profitable over-seas markets were first made accessible, the State in this country, in Holland and in Spain, generally insisted upon confining it to authorised persons or chartered companies, with numerous conditions and restrictions imposed for the protection of vested interests at home, or for con-

siderations of public revenue. These companies, by their own rules, and, where they could obtain it, the public law of their State, were constantly engaged in curbing and crushing outside interlopers, who sought to cut into their monopoly, and though the members of these companies sometimes competed among themselves for the profits of the trade, obvious conveniences led them to co-operate so as to share good opportunities and to maintain prices for the produce they brought back.

Besides the policy of restraining pirates and interlopers, the trading companies had to maintain trading stations or factories, and to organise the trade in the foreign territory which they were licensed to exploit. These establishments, when set in distant and "barbarous" or unsettled lands, needed forcible protection, and though the forts and arms used for such purposes were the private property of the traders, their use evidently was a quasi-political operation which could not go far without bringing into the quarrel the Government of the country which had authorised the traders. The Hudson Bay Company and the East India Company were in their earlier days continually engaged in a fierce commercial competition with French or Portuguese companies, that in time embroiled the Governments of the respective countries. Partly by compacts with foreign chiefs, partly by sheer self-assertion assisted by the charter of their home Government, these groups or companies of traders came to mix politics and even military exploits with the commercial operations which were their origin and their *raison d'être*.

Such trading posts in far distant countries where the traders and the natives had little understanding of or sympathy with one another, were liable to cause trouble. The trade nexus alone is hardly adequate to secure peace and mutual good-will in such a delicate situation. A few dishonest or brutal whites, perhaps not connected with the company, have exasperated the natives, unable to discriminate one white man from another. Or else, as still in Angora, traders have organised a cruel system of slavery or semi-slavery for the exploitation of the natural resources of the land. Where, as in large portions of Africa during the later sixteenth, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the trade in human beings was the largest and most profitable trade, the commercial contact between whites and coloured people reached the lowest state of degradation. This trade, which during the century preceding 1786 was held, on a low computation, to have furnished twenty thousand slaves per annum to the plantations of North America, Spanish South America, and the West Indies, laid a basis of hatred and suspicion along the coasts of West and East Africa which has done lasting injury to the legitimate trade of modern times. Regarded

from the purely economic standpoint of the exploitation of the resources of the New World, the slave trade was certainly a monumental error. The more rapid development of supplies of sugar, rice, tobacco, and other crops thus secured, was purchased too dearly by the instability of political and industrial society which accompanied and followed slavery. White industry and the evolution of the manufacturing arts were long impeded in America by excessive dependence on the wealth of the plantations, and the Civil War, with its legacy of race hostility and social divisions, imposed and still imposes heavy economic penalties. Though the slave trade in its cruder forms has now almost disappeared from European possessions, there has grown up a great and ever-growing transport trade in human beings which, though highly beneficial in its higher grades, sinks in its lower to something not very far removed from the original type of the slave trade. Associations for procuring supplies of indentured labour for mines, roads or agricultural work, by bargaining with chiefs in tropical or sub-tropical Africa, are in fact procuring forced labour. The agents of transport companies, who will make their profits by encouraging immigration, are everywhere employing arts of misrepresentation and delusion which impose upon ignorant people in backward countries. Though the deluded will consent, this method is in substance little removed from the forcible kidnapping of earlier days. As information is more widely spread, these methods of force or fraud are displaced by genuinely voluntary migration, such as that which carries large numbers of Chinese, Japanese, Malays, and Hindus to seek a higher wage-level in such parts of the New World as will admit them. This voluntary migration, regarded from the economic standpoint, must be accounted beneficial. If members of crowded countries are free to transfer their labour-power to sparsely peopled countries, by gradual voluntary movement, two economic purposes are served. There is an increase in the wealth of the world from the drafting of labour from a less productive to a more productive area, and there is the avoidance of expensive and disastrous wars, necessitated hitherto by the need under which highly populated countries found themselves for securing outlets beyond their frontiers for their superfluous population.

The growing tendency in recent times, however, sets against the large over-sea migration of Asiatic or African races into areas domiciled by white populations. A new idea of trade, attended by new hopes and fears, is gaining currency. Backward industrial populations, remaining in their own country, may be encouraged and assisted to a more intensive development of their natural

resources, and at the same time induced to develop new "civilised" wants which European nations can supply.

The realisation of this idea has obvious advantages for modern commerce. For the character of the trade between advanced white and backward coloured peoples has changed, as a result of the industrial revolution. When the New World was first opened up, it was regarded primarily as a treasure house from which fortunate European peoples might suck, by tribute, pillage or unequal trade, quantities of precious metals, and highly valuable commodities for home trade and consumption. Though cargoes of cheap manufactures were sent out for barter, the whole stress of the trade lay in the return cargoes. There was no serious pretence of exchange on equal terms. The early barter with North American Indians, or with West African negroes, in which beads or bright cloths of the cheapest sort purchased valuable ivory or hides, was characteristic of this commerce. So long as European manufactures were still in the pre-machine stage, while the trade with coloured peoples was in the hands of a few companies, such export trade could not figure as a considerable source of national wealth. Every European nation in its early dealings with backward peoples frankly looked upon them, not as customers, but as possessors of possible treasures the worth of which they did not know, and which must be got, if possible by any peaceful means, but otherwise by force. The notion of educating in them tastes for European manufactures was hardly yet entertained.

When, one after another, in the last century, the European nations entered into machine production the whole idea of foreign trade underwent a rapid transformation. Foreign trade became more and more essential as a means of disposing profitably of the enormous quantities of manufactured goods they found themselves able to put out. When towards the close of the century the chief white nations had placed themselves fairly on a level in the arts of manufacture foreign trade assumed definitely the shape of a struggle for markets. Since they were all capable of producing more staple manufactured goods than they could dispose of profitably in their own markets, they began to concentrate upon opening up new markets. This altered the attitude towards Asia and Africa. Here were areas with huge populations capable of buying and consuming Lancashire and Birmingham wares if they could be induced to want them. More and more the trend, not only of our economical but of our political and our missionary policy, was directed towards this end of securing new valuable markets for surplus manufactured goods. The stress of trade with backward peoples was shifted from the return freight to the outward freight. The coloured races in Asia and in Africa

were wanted now as customers, and the various white trading nations set themselves with alacrity to discover, stimulate, and supply their wants. In theory this enhancement of the desire to sell would seem favourable to improved relations between the European and the coloured peoples, for the more equal mutuality of services should have a binding influence. Nor can it justly be denied that this consideration, when not contravened by others, has exercised a pacific and a civilising influence in backward countries. The steel rails, engines and other machinery, boots, agricultural implements, cutlery, and cloths, supplied by way of trade or of investment, must be accounted a genuine contribution to the pacific development and intercourse of the world where such trade relations are voluntary on both sides. Unfortunately, serious counteracting influences have arisen in the modern intercourse between advanced and backward peoples. The struggle for markets among Western nations has grown more acute with each improvement in the arts of manufacture and of transport. The maldistribution of income among the various classes of the European nations, by restricting the consumption of the masses of their workers, has made it appear inevitable that the course of machine production should outrun the consumption of the home markets. For the same reason the growth of new capital in the same nations appears to exceed the possible demands of home investments. So there is a growing double motive, driving our manufacturers to fight for increasing foreign markets in order to absorb their surplus goods and surplus capital. As the civilised nations pass more and more into the condition of being able to provide themselves with manufactured goods for their own industries, and show a disposition to protect themselves by tariff against foreign competitors, the necessity of opening up new markets in backward countries seems more and more pressing. A similar interpretation of the situation leads each nation to seek, if possible, to mark out some area of Asia or Africa for its own trade and to secure a monopoly in that trade. Where ordinary trade is accompanied by investments the white nation has a more important stake in the backward country. Although there is no inherent necessity for political interference, it will easily be recognised that the business men of a civilised State who have established a valuable market in a backward country, and have also invested capital in developing its resources, will be exceedingly likely to invite their Government to help them to maintain their trade and to secure their property rights against the intrusion of foreign traders or investors, or against the risks and damages of internal disorders such as primitive countries, disturbed by foreign traders and explorers, are liable to suffer. The imperialism of Great Britain, Germany, France, America, and, to a less extent, of

other individual States within the last generation, is mainly to be attributed to this competition for markets for goods and investments, and to the belief that, such markets being limited in amount, it is the patriotic duty of each Government to secure for its own traders and investors as large and as good a share as possible.

All sorts of other motives—political, religious, humanitarian—are used to cover up a policy of economic exploitation as foolish in conception as mischievous in consequences. The white nations which, under this mixed play of motives, have gone about the world annexing large masses of Asia and Africa, apportioning out other sections as spheres of influence or protectorates, and in most instances securing a monopoly for the traders of their particular country, by means of a prohibitive or protective tariff, are mistaken in their public policy. Particular manufacturing or trading interests in England, Germany, or America may stand to gain in a policy of aggressive annexation followed by protection, but the nation as a whole gains nothing by this interference with peaceful evolution and free exchange. Precisely because it is so desirable that peaceful and profitable trade relations should grow up between European nations and coloured or backward ones, this fierce conflict for markets and this pushful public policy are the more to be deplored. They are based upon three false assumptions. The first is that the home markets for manufactures cannot keep pace with the growing powers of machine production, and that therefore increasing foreign markets must continually be found. This is false, because in every white civilised country the great mass of the population is inadequately supplied with manufactured goods, and under a better distribution of incomes would develop new wants fast enough to meet any new powers of production.

The second assumption is that, in order to have foreign markets, it is necessary or useful to own the countries. This fallacy is summarised in the phrase that "Trade follows the flag." Even were the saying true, as it is where a protective tariff accompanies the flag, the net advantage of such a policy is extremely disputable. For, by shutting off the annexed country from the full access to the trade and capital of other industrial and investing nations, the development of its resources and the increase of its prosperity are so retarded that its general value as the market for the goods of the aggressive and protecting nation is diminished. Moreover, the true economic balance-sheet of a commerce thus obtained and held by force, would obtain upon the debit side a large expenditure for costs of conquest and of military occupation, while the ill-will and discontent of a conquered people furnish a poor security for sound commercial development. If the whole of the forcible acquisitions of the era of competitive imperialism, which dates

from the middle of the eighties, were subjected to a proper business scrutiny, which would take into due account the share of growing military and naval expenditure attributable to this policy, the whole of this chapter in modern European history would be inscribed as bad business, showing a huge net deficit in terms of wealth. For the value of the markets thus obtained would not nearly cover the expenses of acquisition and of maintenance.

Comparing the two modes of obtaining markets in backward countries, the mode of forcible aggression and the mode of peaceful penetration by appeal to the mutual interests which trade generates, no doubt can possibly be entertained as to the superiority of the latter, equally on economic and on moral grounds. I have treated the question of trade in quantitative terms. But a sound economic survey cannot ignore the character or quality of trade. An analysis of the export and the import trade done by such countries as Great Britain, Belgium, and Germany with recently acquired markets in the tropics shows commerce at its worst. The goods we sell to the natives of these countries are largely of the most detrimental kinds and of the most inferior quality. This has always been the case. A Report to the English Council of Trade as early as 1698 upon the trade with Madagascar and the East Indies named "liquor, arms, and gunpowder" as the chief articles of trade. Recent reports of our trade with East and Central Africa indicate that a considerable proportion of the trade is of the same degrading character, supplemented by the cheapest and lowest grades of textile and metal wares. Such an import trade, largely appealing to the crudest wants of savage or semi-civilised natives, is fraught with manifest dangers, physical and moral. The liquor traffic, in particular, carried on by traders of several European nations in various parts of Africa, is a crime against civilisation, only second to the slave trade of earlier days. But equally pernicious in its effect upon the native peoples is a large portion of the export trade organised by white men in tropical countries of Africa and South America for the rapid and reckless exploitation of the natural resources of the land. The rubber trade in the Congo and in Brazil, and the cocoa trade in São Thomé, are examples of the gravest of these abuses of commerce. Such a contact of whites with backward people shows Western civilisation at its worst, for the lowest representatives of that civilisation, animated by the least worthy motives, introduce among the natives the least desirable products and practices of that civilisation, while their attempt to organise industrially and commercially the tropical countries, being directed to secure the largest immediate gains without due consideration of the future, is often attended by the maximum of waste and inhumanity.

The problem is of the gravest order. These tropical and sub-tropical countries contain rich natural resources which cannot and ought not to lie undeveloped. Though it is to the real interest of the inhabitants of these countries to develop their resources and place them at the disposal of the civilised nations which can use them, this development often requires the assistance of the white man's knowledge, organisation, and capital.

But to leave this work of development to unrestricted private enterprise leads to the grave abuses we have mentioned. When such countries are recognised as under the protectorate or sphere of influence of a white civilised State, it is quite evidently the first duty of the representatives of this political control to protect the natives against these abuses, and to do what they can to prevent the land and the people from being subjected to wasteful exploitation. The appointment of officials who should justify the term protectorate, and whose main efforts should be directed to the slow and steady work of educating the people in the arts of industry and the growth of wholesome wants, is an indispensable condition of the solution of this sociological problem. For, setting aside all higher considerations, and confining our attention merely to the sound development of industry and commerce, experience shows that, for a State to spend public money in the acquisition and government of these subject countries, and then to hand their economic exploitation over to importers and exporters, who damage and degrade the natural resources and the labouring population by the nature of the trades and products they introduce, is the worst and most foolish form of policy conceivable. Where savage or semi-savage peoples are concerned, the task of building up sound industries and wholesome wants, the two foundations of industrial civilisation, will be slow and difficult, and may involve a long retention of political and economic authority before such a country can be left entirely to its own control, consistently with its own and the world's welfare. But in spite of the obvious perils which accompany such protection and education, from the selfishness and greed not only of traders, but of Governments, no other solution is feasible. These peoples have no natural or inalienable right to withhold the natural resources of their country from the outside world, and they cannot develop them without the assistance of that outside world. There is, therefore, no other solution than the education among civilised States of a higher sense of justice, humanity, and economic wisdom in the rendering of that assistance. This will involve the utmost care in the selection of honest, independent, and intelligent officials for the administration of such protected peoples, so that a public long-sighted policy may prevail over the private short-sighted policy of traders.

The duties and expediencies of commercial contact with backward but civilised Asiatic countries are simpler and more obvious. The best and most profitable development of trade for Europeans with the East has been with the countries where force has been least applied, and where European goods and arts have been permitted to make their way by peaceful penetration and appeal. Japan is, of course, the most conspicuous example of the educative influence of Western industrialism upon an Eastern people. China, in spite of occasional intrusions of European force, will furnish a larger instance of the legitimate operation of commerce as a peaceful bond of union between East and West. The too visible and ubiquitous display of force in India has been attended by undoubted injury to the best commercial interests of East and West, alike in the degradation and decay of fine native arts and handicrafts, and in the economic and financial administration of the country with too much regard to the immediate interests of Great Britain. The economic interests of peaceful, profitable commerce for the world will be best served in proportion as the adoption of Western arts of industry in Asia is left to the free determination of the Asiatic peoples. For the knowledge, training, and intelligence of these peoples is such as to enable them to dispense, after a brief period of initiation, with that continued tutelage and control of their industrial life which may be requisite for definitely lower races. Whatever be the outcome of the industrialisation of the Far East, whether it gravitates towards the formation of an isolated self-sufficing economic system, or cultivates strong permanent commercial intercourse with white nations, no sound economic or political purpose would be served by any endeavour of Europe or America to impose conditions on that development. Any attempts at forcible intervention for the protection of existing trading interests, or for the further enlargement of the white man's markets, are tolerably certain in the long run to be frustrated by the active or passive resistance of the Oriental peoples reverting to their ancient instinctive policy. Those who desire that these great Asiatic nations should take their place in the political and economic internationalism of the future, and also recognise how much both Europe and Asia have to give and to get from the solidarity of friendly intercourse, will be most urgent in their insistence that no military or diplomatic force of Western Powers shall be permitted to interfere with the peaceable development of commerce with Asiatic countries.

[Paper submitted in English.]

FOURTH SESSION

(SECOND PART)

PEACEFUL CONTACT BETWEEN CIVILISATIONS

SCIENCE AND ART, LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

By Dr. FERDINAND TÖNNIES,

Professor of Sociology in the University of Kiel, Germany.

"ARE we not right in saying that any scientific question; wheresoever it may be discussed, appeals to all cultivated nations? May not, indeed, the scientific world be considered as one body?" It was Goethe who wrote these words shortly before the end of his life, in considering the opinions of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, which are now so interesting as preludes to Darwinism. And in asking these questions, the great poet only expressed what was in the minds of all those cosmopolitan thinkers who flourished in the "Age of Enlightenment," or, as it is also denominated sometimes, the philosophic century. Practically, of course, it was European civilisation which they had in view, and it was the Caucasian or white race, at the most, which they considered when they spoke of the unity of mankind. Yet commerce and navigation had already reached more distant places, and, from the discovery of America down to that of Australasia, a number of adventurous and famous voyages had long engaged the strenuous attention of Europeans, and contributed to the widening of their mental horizon.

This induced the more thoughtful to compare different manners and customs, superstitions and religions, and at the same time philosophers boldly undertook to formulate what they regarded as the true system of law and the true principle of religion, under the

name of Natural Law and Natural Religion. They exposed the many corrupting and sophisticating influences in modern civilisation, and pleaded for a return to the pure fountains of Nature. Simplicity appeared to be the test of genuineness, and what was simple and natural was thought to be entitled to become universal. This also led them to compare different grades and states of civilised life, especially the habits of rural life with those of great cities, and the ways of rude tribes with those of nations in which art and science, wealth and luxury prevailed. They discovered, not without some amazement, ancient civilisations that were very different from our own, and eagerly pointed out that they were in certain respects superior to ours. Religion itself ceased to be considered as an effective separating gulf, as if Christianity represented the summit of moral sublimity. What had long been despised or pitied as heathen ignorance turned out to contain profound wisdom from which Christians had to learn anew, as they had always learned from Greece and Rome. Thus the West turned its eyes back to the East, and China soon gave it an overwhelming impression of a long-settled and at the same time a highly refined and rational civilisation. Rationalism was the Spirit of the Age, and if philosophers recommended the Natural, it was merely because Reason seemed to them to have the mission of restoring early institutions (based upon natural liberty and equality), freeing them from prejudices and superstition, and directing them, by means of rulers imbued with just philosophical principles, toward the goal of universal peace and happiness, which was considered to be the true object of intellectual and moral progress.

Voltaire and Christian Wolf both pointed to China in this spirit of admiration, while Montesquieu and others emphasised the high sociological and historical interest of the Celestial Empire. More recently, Comte and his followers took up the argument of rationalism, which made China appear to be a model of spiritual and moral government. In the meantime most of our reliable information concerning that marvellous civilisation came from a different quarter. The Roman Catholic Church vied with its bitterest foe, modern philosophy, in these cosmopolitan feelings and tendencies. The missionary interest became a powerful stimulus to the thoroughgoing investigation of peoples who showed so little inclination to abandon their own faith and moral code in favour of those of Europe. However, it is much to the credit of the Jesuit fathers, at first Portuguese and Italian, afterwards chiefly French, that they succeeded in adapting themselves to Chinese manners and customs, even to their religious ceremonial, and have thus been able to gain a deeper insight into the true foundations of such habits and customs, a knowledge which

they eagerly communicated in a series of elaborate works, to the amazement of Europe. They became the teachers of Europe with respect to China, as, in the character of apostles of science, according to M. Martin, they had obtained a footing in Peking. Protestant missionaries have followed them in their design of bringing the growing science of the Western world to bear on the mind of China. On the other hand, European knowledge of China has constantly increased. Since the great geographical, historical, chronological, and political description of China and Chinese Tartary of Jean Baptiste du Halde appeared in 1733, preceded as it was by Magilhaens, le Comte, and Silhouette, and followed by the memoirs of the missionaries of Peking concerning the history, the sciences, the arts, the customs and usages of the Chinese, an enormous literature has grown up relating to these subjects, and Europeans are now able to pass a tolerably catholic judgment upon the character and achievements of that immensely numerous and profoundly remarkable nation, the knowledge of which had, in the words of Sir Robert Douglas, been so long confined to misty legends and uncertain rumour.

What has been said of China applies also to some extent to Japan. However, the difference between the greater and the smaller empire is sufficiently known. The rise of Japan to the rank of a modern nation, its Europeanisation, has become famous as one of the most memorable events of the last century. The growth of learning, which had been considerable in the two previous centuries, preceded this marvellous development. Japan has adopted the science and the technical achievements of Europe with a striking rapidity and with an astounding success. But we are now facing a fact which in its consequences will perhaps far surpass even the glorious ascent of Japan. The awakening of China now engages the attention of all careful observers of the East. Some years ago, just before the outbreak of the Boxer movement, Sir Alfred Lyall, in contradiction to other writers, hinted at the possibility that the Japanese war, which he recognised as a turning-point in Chinese history, might lead toward a revival instead of decadence or disintegration. A few years later, after the humiliation which China experienced from the European Powers, Sir Robert Hart, one of the few Europeans who know the Celestial Empire by their own long and careful observation, effectively pointed to the "other school of thought." It was, he said, in a very small minority, "but it is growing, it accepts facts, recognises what makes for change, opens its eyes to the life of other lands, asks what can be introduced from abroad and grafted on Chinese trunks, and ceases to condemn novelties simply because they are new, or to eschew strange things merely because they are foreign." It was at that very moment that the Empress Dowager

decided to press reform, and that the edict was sent out which said that what China is deficient in can be best supplied from what the West is rich in. Tsu Hsi, it is true, has since disappeared together with the nominal Emperor, but the trend of the movement has not changed. It has, on the contrary, much increased in strength, and it seems to be on the eve of victory. Its most conspicuous element, no doubt, is the demand for scientific improvement, which inspires young China with a sense of rivalling not only Japan, but proud Europe itself. Higher education is the watchword of the day in the Far East, as much as in the United Kingdom or the German Empire. Swarms of Chinese students go yearly to Japan, where European civilisation and learning are communicated to them; but smaller numbers also go to Europe, mostly for the sake of medical instruction, which is more and more appreciated by Eastern people. Chinese students, we understand, may now be numbered by hundreds in Europe and America, and by thousands in Japan. However, the results of foreign education have not been altogether satisfactory hitherto to Chinese ambition. It seeks to establish Chinese seats of Western learning, but there are serious obstacles to be overcome.

A genuine Chinese degree, as was lately pointed out in the *Contemporary Review*, does not seem likely to carry weight in European or American minds. It is doubted, with good reason, whether there can be for some time a sufficiently numerous body of educated Chinese to guide the destinies of such an institution as a Peking University of Western science would pretend to be. On the other hand, mandarin pride would justly scorn the idea of foreign control. It is on this account that lately the project of a Hong Kong University has been mooted, and a man of authoritative position in England has declared that this project promises an intellectual development for which there is no precedent. Already a vast sum has been raised for the carrying out of this project, and a very considerable amount of it is due to the Chinese themselves, who are said to have taken up the idea with enthusiasm. If it should prove successful, we may reasonably expect to see the sphere of material and moral influence of the British Empire considerably enlarged; for it would help to make English the language of diplomacy and general culture in the far East, as it is already that of commerce. No wonder, then, that the British Government, especially the Colonial Office, approves the scheme and is active in promoting it. The present Governor of Hong Kong is amongst its chief supporters. Hong Kong has the finest position in the world as a shipping port. The project may be said, then, to rest upon broad shoulders. "*Ex occidente lux*," the learned Taw Sein Ko proclaimed some time ago, and it was the

fact that schools and colleges were springing up all over the Empire which gave him the hope that the real awakening of China had begun. More recently the High Commissioner, Tuan Fang, addressing the Mission Boards at New York, congratulated the American missionaries on having promoted the progress of the Chinese people. They had borne, he said, the light of Western civilisation into every nook and corner of the Empire. The Chinese being a polite and ceremonious people, even one of the leaders of the progressive movement may have pronounced these words merely in a complimentary sense. It is well known that they generally desire the dismissal of foreign missionaries; but this certainly would not imply the dismissal of foreign learning. European science and technical efficiency will increase their sway in China as they have done in Japan. But how will they develop in these countries? Will they advance to higher summits? Will these Orientals with their undisturbed freshness of mind surpass us in the spread and application of science? Will they wind through all the mazes of a capitalistic evolution which involves such grave problems for us? Or will they be better able than we to rule the spirits which they have evoked?

Not unlike China and Japan and the smaller nations dependent upon them, with respect to remoteness from European culture, India widely differs from them in several conspicuous traits. In the first place, it has never been entirely unknown to the Western world. All through the so-called Middle Ages the channels of trade went along wild deserts from India to the ports of the Levant, and thence to Venice and the rest of the Italian cities on the Mediterranean, which were the commercial intermediaries for the greater part of Europe. Of course, only the most precious commodities were able to bear the cost of that long, slow, and dangerous journey. India's legendary wealth gave the spices of a tropical climate and the products of a highly refined domestic art to Europe, from which, in its turn, it generally received silver as the instrument of trade. By the fall of Constantinople this channel was blocked, and as a result European commerce sought to discover the maritime route to that fabulous country. The name of the West Indies still reminds us of some of the results of that struggle. Nevertheless, in spite of these early commercial arrangements, India remained up to a recent period almost like China and Japan, hidden under a veil of mystery. It was the British administration only which presently endeavoured to lessen the general European ignorance of that great region which, no less than Europe itself, includes a multitude of different countries. And, as was stated with respect to China, so in the case of India, it was admiration,

based upon very imperfect knowledge, which took precedence of more thoroughgoing research and discriminating investigation. In this case, it was a special admiration, having a certain definite tendency which became almost traditional. The *religions* of India, and the philosophies so closely allied to them, were from the eighteenth century downwards increasingly made known to European students, and struck some of them with awe. But, in this case, it was not the rationalist tendency, pervading as it did the century of enlightenment, but the romantic reaction against the prevalence of stern and cold intellectualism, that was at the bottom of the singular interest, an interest which, more particularly from the dawn of the nineteenth century, made India so attractive to scholars, filling the hearts of poets, philosophers and historians with an enthusiasm that saw an almost supernatural wisdom in the early records of Sanscrit learning, and sometimes dreamed of the aboriginal model-people, compared with which all the later civilisations only represented deterioration and decay. The glorification of the dead past led to a predilection for those living at a distance, both tendencies being deeply rooted in human nature. If not the cradle of the human race, which still, even by the majority of the learned, was located in the Holy Land, yet the original seats of the Aryans were supposed to be about the Himalaya Mountains. The comparative science of languages established the identity of Sanscrit roots with those of the Hellenic, the Roman, the Teutonic, Slav and Celtic tongues. Even in Max Müller's time there was, as he justly maintained, a vague charm associated with the name of India, if not in the country of its rulers, at least in France, Germany, and Italy, and even in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. The eminent Orientalist pointed to Rückert's "Wisdom of the Brahmin" as one of the most beautiful poems in the German language, and observed that a scholar who studies Sanscrit was supposed to be initiated into the deep and dark mysteries of ancient wisdom. A certain amount of this reverence still survives. In Germany, at least, the disciples of Schopenhauer, among whom the name of Professor Paul Deussen must be mentioned with respect, consider the Vedanta Philosophy and the Upanishads as the earliest sources of that eternal truth concerning the Essence and the Destiny of mankind which has, according to them, found its recent prophet in Kant, and is more fully revealed through Schopenhauer's interpretation of the world. The Pantheistic trend of modern philosophy, in fact, recalls the Pantheism which pervades India. Somebody said about the middle of the last century that Pantheism is the secret religion of the educated German. It may be said to be the professed religion of the educated Hindu. And

as Pantheistic thinkers always had a bent towards mysticism, and mystic thinkers frequently towards occultism, it is not surprising to observe that our spiritualists and so-called theosophists should turn their eyes again to the sacred East and to the valley of the Ganges, regarding with awe a revelation of hidden mental treasures which they sometimes think they discover in what is called esoteric Buddhism or the Light of Asia. Genuine Buddhism has also recently gained a growing number of adherents both in Europe and in America, and it also has had an intense revival in India itself, as witness the Maha-Bodhi Society of Calcutta. However, apart from these religious and metaphysical aspects, the prestige of early Indian culture has given way to cool and critical investigation of the country and its inhabitants, of its past and present, including forecasts of its probable future, to a careful research of its manners and customs, of its law and administration, its religious and philosophical systems. It is thus that India has contributed largely to certain famous generalisations which have become permanent elements in that characteristically modern (though ancient in its groundwork) science called Sociology. "India," said Sir Henry Maine, as early as 1875, "has given to the world Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology"; he was uncertain how to denominate another science, which owes so many valuable suggestions to himself, hesitating to call it Comparative Jurisprudence, "because, if it ever exists, its area will be so much wider than the field of law." I do not believe that there is good reason to object to the name of comparative sociology, though this would mean the investigation not merely of the early history, the evolution and present state of laws and of institutions, but of social life generally, including as it does the consequences of native propensities, of habits and customs, of original and acquired ideas and beliefs. Social life as a problem is the problem of the moral life, which, to a large extent, means the peaceful life of a people. It cannot be understood, except by those who possess a true insight into the mutual action and reaction of material conditions and spiritual conceptions, both of which concur in ruling the destinies of mankind.

India also is said now to be awakening. We heard a great deal lately of Indian unrest. It is no part of my task to enter into the political side of this remarkable movement. Mentally and morally its significance seems to be expressed by the fact that the idea of progress has begun to shake the fundamental axioms which have hitherto been upheld steadfastly by nearly all the Orientals, embodying, as they do, the idea that the past, as such, is venerable, that tradition must be followed, that men can never do

better than follow the morals set by their ancestors. Exponents of the principle of progress are generally apt to look disrespectfully upon the past, and to forget the truth that survival is a test of strength and validity, that organic structures have generally grown fit by selection and by the struggle for existence, and that this holds, to a large extent, as well of social as of individual organic life. Yet life itself means change; and a more radical change means a more vivid thrill of life, a fresh adaptation to novel circumstances and conditions. It is that principle of progress, as Sir H. Maine pointed out, which Englishmen are communicating to India; they are passing on what they have received. "There is"—with these words he concluded his memorable Rede Lecture, delivered before the University of Cambridge—"no reason why, if it has time to work, the principle of progress should not develop in India effects as wonderful as in any other of the societies of mankind." We have already begun to see some of these wonderful effects. India is fast Europeanising, formidable as are the obstacles put in the way by its ancient Brahminic culture. Already we find the question raised of the emancipation of caste (meaning the elevation of the low-caste people), of the emancipation of women, emancipation of social usage from custom and superstition. University teaching has the effect of a dissolvent agency. Whether, as a whole, it may be deemed good or evil, the movement will prove irrevocable and irresistible in the long run, no matter what strong reactions it may temporarily encounter. All good Europeans will assuredly always look with admiration upon India's mental and moral treasures; they will be prepared to adopt portions of them from the inhabitants of that admirable country, and they will be ready to welcome Hindu people whenever they may be anxious to participate in our own marvels of scientific and technical advancement. Of course, this maxim holds for all races of the human family.

Hitherto we have only spoken of the remote East which has been the object, more or less, of recent discoveries and Occidental influences, but which is still imperfectly known even by our own most thoroughgoing scholars. Far different are the relations of Europe to the nearer parts of Asia and to the North of Africa, the historical character of which is decidedly Oriental. The roots of our own arts and sciences lie in these regions. For the most precious elements of European culture have developed in Greece, and Greece was the pupil of Egypt and of Asia, though its genius far outshone that of its teachers. To the Phœnicians the Western world owes the invention of letters, and Chaldean application laid the early foundations of astronomy, Assyria generally

fertilising all Semitic improvement. In the later period of the Roman Empire this all-absorbing State received a new religion, consisting of a mixture of Jewish theology and Greek philosophy or mysticism, the Cross overshadowing the Sun of the competing Mithra cult. The synagogue indeed became the model of the Christian church. The Jews have from various sources conveyed a great amount of learning from the ancient world to the modern. They have, by their astounding power of adaptation to foreign customs, languages, and ways of thinking, always been the great cosmopolitan mediators. But in the Middle Ages the influence of the Arabs became stronger and more organised, and they developed the first comparatively scientific civilisation after the fall of the Western Empire, on the Iberian Peninsula. They renewed and enlarged astronomical, geographical, and physiological observation; they promoted medical knowledge; and it was through their translations that Aristotle became known to Christians. Their own metaphysical speculations, chiefly those of Avicenna and Averroes, acted as a powerful stimulant and ferment upon medieval scholasticism. But in mathematical and inductive science also they made considerable progress; we still retain, in the names of algebra and chemistry (originally alchemy) the traces of our obligation to them. And were not the Arabs in perpetual contact with the Chinese? Did they not derive a good deal of their knowledge and of their institutions from the Persians? Were they not, with Byzantium, the co-heirs of the Roman-Hellenic civilisation, and was not Byzantium itself a foster-parent to them? Do we not find here the original unity and mutual interdependence of Oriental and Western science and art?

In the fine arts, no less than in science and commerce, a peaceful contact of races has always counteracted their hostilities and hatred, because men are prone to admire what is new to them, and to regard foreign achievements as superior to their own. Foreign artists and artisans have often been invited to build cathedrals and palaces, to erect statues and to paint portraits. Great skill has always had migratory habits, and even masters have been ready to learn from masters. Commerce spread models and imported them from abroad, styles were modified by styles—for instance, the Romanic architecture by the Moorish. Soon after the first circumnavigations of the earth, we find traces of Chinese and Japanese style in French and Italian barock architecture, and early in the eighteenth century "china" came into fashion in the courts of Europe. More recently, artistic influences have increased enormously, modern Europe being wholly receptive and fanciful in its predilections, everything Oriental appealing to the sense of grotesqueness and *bizarrierie*, which some-

times rises to a morbid height among people of fashion, probably no less in the East than in the West.

Art, it is true, generally has a national, or at least a racial stamp; but literature, owing to its intellectual and moral bearings, is more essentially human in its character, in spite of differences of languages. It was Goethe who introduced the phrase "world-literature" into German. Following Herder, who collected the "Voices of Nations," he confessed that his early fondness for folk-lore had not vanished in old age; and in lyric and dramatic art he tried to draw from foreign sources the quintessence of everything beautiful. He invented the songs of Suleika, in imitation of Persian poetry, and of Sakontala he says that he steeped his mind for years in the admiration of it. He also mentions with high appreciation other Indian poems, and even the Chinese drama or song did not escape his attention. He declares with confidence that in this present "most stirring" epoch, when communication was so greatly facilitated, a world-literature was soon to be expected. What would he say of our time, when even in his own day he mentions journals and newspapers as a means of communication by which a nation may learn not only what happens to other nations politically, but the characters of their moral and intellectual life? And this enlarged knowledge, in Goethe's opinion, would help to increase our esteem of foreigners, we being "always apt to esteem a nation less than it deserves," because we regard only external aspects which seem to us repulsive or at least ridiculous.

These words are as true now as they were when they were written, about ninety years ago. Although intercommunication has vastly grown, and opportunities have increased, although the Press now goes from one end of the world to the other, we must confess that our knowledge of each other is scanty, that current views, even of statesmen and of others who decidedly belong to the cultivated classes, are often narrow, that a silly nationalist pride and exclusiveness is often supported by absurd notions of foreign characters, by childish prejudices about habits and customs and ways of thinking differing from our own, by antiquated opinions never tested by experience, and, generally, by ignorance. What is to be done in order to make the peaceful contact between nations and races stronger and more effective in this respect? I venture to suggest and propose the following aids to this end:—

1. A universal language ought to be created as the common language of the cultured all over the world. I do not plead in favour of any innovation, being even somewhat afraid of a purely artificial language; but I believe that Latin, the ancient *lingua doctorum*, might be revived in a new form.

2. We should do what we can in the way of discouraging and preventing the over-production of foolish fiction in our own language, and of promoting translations of the master-works of all the national literatures.

3. Translation itself must become a fine art and be cultivated as such. Translations are frequently done in a clumsy and unskilful way, sometimes by people who possess but slight grammatical knowledge of the language from which they are translating.

4. The study of foreign countries and nations ought to be encouraged by scholarships, travelling fees, and other means. An exchange of lecturing professors is worth little as compared with an exchange of students. In particular, Western students should be enabled to spend a year or two in the East, with a view of becoming thoroughly familiar with the languages and characters of Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Persians, Abyssinians, or Egyptians. No other task should be set them but this very important one.

5. An international academy of social and moral science must be founded, in order to concentrate all our studies and endeavours of this nature. It would foster those feelings of human solidarity and brotherhood which have been taught by all the higher religions, as well as by the rationalistic and moral philosophies to which these religions owe their superiority.

6. A re-organisation of the Press, with a view to its promoting kindlier feelings between nations and races through a more conscientious investigation of the true merits and peculiarities of each and a catholic appreciation of all noble endeavours towards the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE WORK DONE, BY PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORLD

By M. H. LA FONTAINE, *Brussels*,

Senator, President of the International Peace Bureau, General Secretary of the Institut International de Bibliographie, Professor of International Law.

AT the present time, when so many are loud in praise of nationalist sentiments, and endeavour to keep the peoples of the world apart by artificial barriers, there is proceeding a great and majestic interpenetration of races, interests, and ideas. The whole world is becoming one vast city. That is the real and consoling aspect of the present situation, in contrast with the superficial aspect of struggle, hatred,

and defiance, which seems to many to be the proper way to regard the events of our time.

In order to give a just idea of the movement which is impelling humanity toward a closer understanding and more peaceful accord, it would be necessary to consider both the work done by inter-governmental activity and that due to private enterprise. Although they are intimately connected, however, I have found it necessary to restrict this account to the field of free international institutions, a large and complex field, of which two figures will enable the reader to appreciate the extent. From 1843, when the first international congress was held on private initiative, until 1910 there were more than two thousand international meetings, of which eight hundred fall in the last decade. The total number of central offices of all kinds having for their object the study of questions of general human interest from a universal point of view already amounts to more than two hundred and fifty.¹

I cannot give here more than a brief sketch of the work done by these organisations and a very inadequate outline of the great work that remains to be done. In my opinion the account that I shall give will evince, on the one hand, the wide range of the movement of which I shall describe the various phases, and especially, on the other hand, the organic character that it has been possible to give it by the creation of a world-wide federative institution.

The first and most important matter that we have to consider is, obviously, the economic situation, *i.e.*, the circumstances of distribution and circulation.

The establishment of a world-wide market is now an accomplished fact. The fluctuations of the prices of various kinds of products have no longer a local or national character; they now have an immediate echo throughout the world. Trusts, pools, and syndicates have multiplied and enlarged. The international concentration of many industries is a notorious fact, in spite of the interested secrecy that envelops such combinations.

In face of this concentration of trades and industries the workers have combined on their side, first in national and then in international organisations. There are at the present time more than thirty international federations of trades, especially those of the miners, founders, paviors, dockers, printers, transport-workers, brewers, glass-workers, potters, metal-workers, diamond cutters, wood and

¹ See the *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, published by the Central Office of International Institutions, Brussels. [EDITOR.—This volume may be warmly recommended to all who take an interest in international organisation.]

leather-workers, furriers, textile-workers, tobacco-workers, saddlers, shoemakers, glovemakers, bookbinders, tailors, hatters, hairdressers, masons, painters, musicians, commercial employees, post, telegraph and railway servants, and assistants in hotels and restaurants. All these federations are centralised in the International Secretariat of the National Associations of Trade Unions.¹

The workers' organisations aim chiefly at the improvement of the conditions of labour, and it soon became clear that this object involved international action. We may recall the interest that was aroused in 1890 by the convoking, at the instance of the Emperor of Germany, of the first international conference for the regulation of labour. It came to no conclusion, but from 1897 onward international congresses have been held for the purpose of uniting all who were interested in these questions and founding an "International Association for the Legal Protection of Workers." The carrying out of the decisions taken in the biennial meetings of this Association was entrusted to the International Office of Labour, which is installed at Bâle. It is supported by national sections, whose contributions, together with governmental subsidies, enable it to do its work. In this way it has succeeded in obtaining from various States a prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches and the abolition of night-work for women. There are also international organisations for the prevention of Sunday labour, the prevention of strikes, the study of questions relating to accidents during work and to insurance.

The work done by Governments in organising the circulation of men and of commodities is well known. The Postal Union, the Telegraphic Union, the Radiotelegraphic Union, and the Union for the Transport of Merchandise, have made one single territory of the whole world. On the sea the adoption of regulations as to uniform routes and the application of a national code of signals have consecrated the world-old practice which has made the oceans the chief international routes. In this department the various States have been guided and inspired by vast associations like the "International Association of Railway Congresses," which is composed of forty-seven public administrations and four hundred and eleven private enterprises; and the "International Association of Navigation Congresses," which consists of twenty-two governmental administrations, two hundred and sixty private administrations, and more than fifteen hundred individual members. Not less important, from the same point of view, is the "International Union of Tramways and Rail-

¹ According to statistics published by this secretarial office there are 9,096,000 workmen members of trade unions in nineteen countries of Europe and America, and 5,944,000 belong to organisations affiliated to the secretaryship.

ways of Local Interest," which comprises five hundred and fifty tramway enterprises, services or companies.

States have also devoted their attention to questions of hygiene and public health, but in this department there have long been powerful bodies concerned with propaganda and protection. The two most influential associations in this respect are the one which carries on the struggle against alcoholism, of which the first international congress was held in 1878, and which has given birth in turn to two important bodies, the "International Blue Cross Federation" and the "Independent Order of Good Templars"; and the one which protects young girls from the dangers of large towns, which dates from 1888, and acts through the "International Union of Friends of Young Women" and the "International Association for the Protection of Young Women."

The protection of children, the care of abandoned children and of liberated prisoners, and the provision for the insane, the deaf and dumb, and the blind, have also been discussed in international meetings. We may also mention the "Universal Alliance of Young People's Christian Associations," which has more than 900,000 members.¹

In connection with these grave problems relating to the moral and material welfare of humanity we must notice the work done in the field of insurance and mutual aid. Especially important are the congresses of accountants which have been held regularly every three years since 1895. The medical officers of the insurance companies have also had an international organisation since 1899. The mutual-aid movement, which has grown in a most remarkable manner, has succeeded in forming an "International Federation of Mutual Aid" and in creating a "Permanent Bureau of Study and Statistics of Mutual Aid."

The no less important Co-operative Movement is allied to the mutual-aid movement. The need of an international organisation in this field was felt, and it was met in 1892 by the establishment of the "International Co-operative Alliance." There is also an "International Confederation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies," which comprises 28,000 societies."

To the instances we have given we may add the associations which seek to improve the condition of the disinherited class. For this purpose was created an "International Institute for the Study of the Problem of the Middle Class." A like aim is proposed by the "Permanent International Committee of Cheap Housing."

From the point of view of the pure sciences international co-operation is an undeniable fact. There are no discoveries which are not due to the work of scholars belonging to the most diverse nation-

¹ The total value of the property of the various associations is close upon £12,000,000.

alities. This has naturally led scientific men to form international associations.

The first place among the pure sciences is taken by mathematics, and the international meetings in connection with this science have been held every fourth year since 1897. They have created a number of international bodies: the "International Commission for the Unification of Vectorial Notations," the "International Association for the Promotion of the Study of Quaternions," and the "International Commission of Mathematical Teaching."

Astronomers have held international congresses since the year 1865. They have established a number of international bodies, the chief of which is the "International Committee for the Construction of the Photographic Chart of the Heavens." This enterprise, which is entrusted to nineteen observatories, will necessitate the taking of no less than 22,000 photographs. There is also an "International Union for Solar Research."

In connection with the measurement of time a "Permanent International Commission of Chronometry" was instituted in 1900. An "International Conference for the Choice of a First Meridian" introduced in 1884 the system of horary spindles which is now adopted nearly everywhere. Other bodies led to the creation of special commissions, especially that of photometrical unity, and an international standard of candle-power, the units of electricity sanctioned by many national legislations, and the uniform standardising of thermometers.

The terrestrial globe has also attracted the international attention of scholars from various points of view. The geological study of it, in the first place, has occupied the debates of the International Geological Congresses, which meet every three years, since 1878. These Congresses have organised international commissions with the charge of unifying the figures and terms used in geology, as well as commissions of stratigraphy, petrography, palæontology, and geothermics. There has also been established an "International Glacial Association" and an "International Volcanic Institute."

Hydrology, climatology, and meteorology are the subject of regular international congresses. An "International Meteorological Committee" has been at work since 1873, and has set up various special commissions within its department. An understanding has been arrived at for the purpose of securing uniformity in meteorological observations at sea and in the polar regions. There is also an understanding in regard to the systematic exploration of the atmosphere by means of balloons.

Passing from the earth to its inhabitants, we notice that for a long time back, since 1865, anthropological and prehistoric questions have given occasion for many important gatherings, among which those

of the Orientalists and Americanists have attracted a good deal of attention.

In connection with the earth and its inhabitants, we may note the "International Congresses of Geography," which have been held since 1871. To their initiative is due the creation of a map of the earth on the scale 1:1,000,000. The "International Polar Commission" belongs to the same department.

What are commonly called the natural sciences have also inspired a number of international congresses. The Botanical Congresses, which began in 1861, gave birth to the "International Commission of Botanical Nomenclature" and the "International Association of Botanists." The Zoological Congresses began in 1889, and led to the adoption of a uniform procedure in the naming of species and the representation of figures. There has also been established an "International Ornithological Committee." Physiologists have, besides their triennial congress, two international laboratories for research, the "Institut Marey," and the "Monte Rosa Laboratory." The anatomists have formed an international association, and have also established an "International Committee for the Study of the Brain."

Chemists also have international meetings, both from the purely scientific point of view, and in connection with the various industrial applications of chemical science.¹ On their initiative there have been formed international commissions for the unification of the methods of analysing food-stuffs and petroleum.

Finally, the highest scientific authorities of the world have founded the "International Association of Academies." This Association chiefly lends its patronage or approval to autonomous institutions such as the Institut Marey and the International Polar Commission, or to enterprises of universal import such as the Catalogue of Scientific Publications, the reprinting of the works of Leibnitz, and the critical edition of the Mahabharata. It has also interested itself in the international loan of manuscripts.

If we now turn to the applied sciences, we find that the movement in the direction of an international understanding is, perhaps, keener in this department than in that of the pure sciences.

Among the more important meetings of this kind we may quote the "International Congresses of Medical Science," which go back to 1867, and always have very crowded gatherings. Besides these general congresses there is quite a number of congresses in special branches of medicine. Thus the homeopaths meet regularly since 1876, the dermatologists since 1889, the neurologists since 1885, the alienists since 1889, and the surgeons, who have had meetings since 1888, formed in 1905 an "International Society of Surgery." The inter-

¹ The last Congress, held at London in 1909, was attended by 3,000 members.

national congresses of dentists, which are almost as important as those of the medical men, have been held regularly since 1889. The ophthalmologists were among the first to hold international congresses. Their first meeting was in 1857. The otologists and laryngologists have assembled regularly since 1889, and the gynecologists since 1892. Lastly, the veterinary surgeons, whose congresses also are of great importance, began to hold meetings in 1862.

With medical questions are closely connected those relating to therapeutics. The pharmacists met for their first international congress at Brunswick in 1865, and their tenth congress was held at Brussels in 1910. Their discussions are chiefly occupied with the unification of pharmacopæias.

Vaccination has led to stirring congresses of anti-vaccinators. Physiotherapeutics, the applications of which became more and more numerous in our time, has had congresses of recent years; the first was held at Liège in 1905, and the fourth will be held at Berlin in 1912. Thalassotherapeutics, one of the most ancient forms of physiotherapeutics, has been discussed at numbers of international meetings, the first of which was held in 1894. Electrotherapeutics and radiology have been the subjects of several congresses, the first of which met at Como in 1899. Experimental hypnotism has been the subject of international congresses since 1889.

Finally, certain particular maladies—insomnia, cancer, leprosy, and especially tuberculosis—have attracted the attention of specialists of all countries, and led them to hold international meetings.

There is also an "International Association of the Medical Press," and an "International Committee of Medical Teaching" was established in 1910.

In the department of technology the engineers and industrial workers have long felt the need of international meetings. As early as 1878 the civil engineers held their first international congress at Paris. The electricians in turn assembled in the same city in 1881, and in 1902 they established an "International Union of Electrical Stations," which has held annual meetings since that date. The international congresses of mines and metallurgy, which have been held regularly since 1889, are amongst the most important in technical matters. Technical workers have also held international meetings in connection with the unification of the standards of assaying material, the mechanical and hygienic improvement of workshops, and the supervision and safety of steam-driven machinery.

The technique of private industry has also been the occasion of international meetings. Brewers, distillers, bakers, confectioners, workers in petroleum, acetylene gas, cement, and paper, and cotton-spinners, have regular international meetings. In connection with

spinning, we have also the question of international uniformity in the numbering of threads, which has been dealt with in international congresses.

Agriculturists have had international meetings since 1848, and their Congresses have been held regularly since 1889. With these we may connect the special meetings devoted to agricultural associations, agricultural education, colonial agronomics, the unification of the methods of analysing manures and cattle-foods, and agricultural mechanics.

The importance of the cultivation of certain products has led to the holding of special congresses. We find congresses that have been held to discuss the cultivation of rice, viticulture, silviculture and horticulture. In the same group we may place all the meetings in relation to zootechnics, especially the international congresses for the rational feeding of cattle, and the congresses of aviculture, and apiculture. Dairy-men have held bi-annual congresses since 1903.

Lastly, questions of hunting and fishing have also engaged the attention of specialists of all countries, especially questions relating to sea fisheries.

The juridical sciences have inspired very important international associations, which are of world-wide repute, and of quite preponderant authority. These are the "Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations," which is now known under the title of the "International Law Association," and the "Institute of International Law and Comparative Legislation."

Questions of special law have, on the other hand, led to the establishment of important international bodies. One of the most important is the "International Union of Penal Law," which has held regular meetings since 1889. The International Penitentiary Congresses are almost equally important. The first was held in 1846, and was one of the first international congresses to take place anywhere. With this twofold organisation of penal law we must connect the international congresses of criminal anthropology, which has been held since 1885.

Among questions of private law those in regard to industrial, literary, and artistic proprietorship have led to the formation of two vast associations, whose meetings have had a decisive influence on the intergovernmental conventions which control patent rights, trademarks, and the rights of authors. There is also an "International Maritime Commission," the influence of which on international legislation concerning the boarding and salving of vessels has just led to the adoption of an intergovernmental convention of great importance. The unification of commercial law has also been the subject of many international congresses, which have especially discussed the simplification and unification of the rules relating to letters of exchange.

Finally, administrative law has recently given birth to a "Permanent Commission of the International Congresses of the Administrative Sciences."

In the department of philosophy, religion, and morals, there have also been established certain important international bodies. In the first place we must quote the international congresses of philosophy and psychology; then the "International Union of Ethical Societies." The Churches themselves constitute vast international associations, and their councils and conventions are real international meetings. The successful attempt at Chicago in 1893 to hold a "World's Parliament of Religions" will be remembered. Since that time there have been international meetings for discussing the history of religion every four years.

Some of the religious bodies have organised international congresses, such as the Eucharistic Congresses, those of the Old Catholics, and those of Liberal Christianity, the Baptists, and the Universal Evangelical Alliance. We must mention, too, the "Salvation Army," which has more than 100,000 members scattered throughout the world, the "International Federation of Free-thinkers," and "Universal Freemasonry."

The pacifist movement is bound up in some of its aspects with the political and juridical life of nations; but it must also find a place here on account of its lofty moral purpose. The movement began in 1815. The annual congresses it has held since 1889 attract increasing attention, and have the support of innumerable societies in every country of the world, which are grouped round the "International Permanent Peace Bureau" at Berne. Some of these societies have themselves an international character, such as the "International Peace Institute," the "International Conciliation," the "International League of Peace and Liberty," and the "International Museum of War and Peace."

Two of the most important international establishments, the Nobel Institute and the recent Carnegie Institution, are associated with this movement. It is, perhaps, interesting to note that the first pacifist congress, which met in London in 1843, was the first manifestation of the international spirit which is spreading so rapidly in our own time.

Education, in every aspect and degree, has been the subject of numbers of international discussions. Besides the congresses which have discussed education in general, some have been devoted to primary, secondary, and higher education, popular education, family education, and moral education. International organisations have been formed, as we stated previously, for the promotion of mathematical and medical education. Others have been created to promote commercial education and the teaching of living tongues.

The internationalisation of studies has led numbers of students to travel, and of late years we have witnessed an active exchange of professors between different countries. This has led in turn to the establishment in many universities of cosmopolitan clubs, which have been united in an international association since 1907. The students have further established the vast federation of the "Corda Fratres," and other more exclusive federations, such as those of the Christian students, the Catholic students, and the Socialist students. On the other hand, the professors of primary education have gathered round the "International Bureau of Federations of Teachers."

An effort is being made at the present time to attain an "equivalence of diplomas,"¹ and to establish an "International Pedagogical Centre." There are also in many countries institutes of higher studies, which are the embryos of real international schools, and the idea has arisen of uniting them in a larger organisation, which would be the "International University," or rather, the "World-School."² We must also call attention to the project of establishing an "International Bureau of Universities," and to the growth in recent years of inter-scholastic correspondence.

With the question of education we may connect the idea of choosing a universal language. Annual congresses have, since 1906, brought together in large numbers the admirers of the Esperanto language. On the other hand, an "International Delegation for the adoption of a Universal Language" was established in 1901. In the department of languages we must also notice the existence of an "International Phonetic Association," an "International Federation for the Extension and Cultivation of the French Language," and the "International Society of Romance Dialectology."

The long and somewhat fastidious enumeration which we have been compelled to make was necessary in order to give some approximate idea of the proportions of the spirit which is seeking to organise the world on international lines. Nevertheless, to complete the story, we ought further to have spoken of bodies of the greatest importance such as the "International Union of Press Associations," the "International Institute of Sociology," the "International Institute of Statistics," the "International Colonial Institute," the "International Economic Union," the "Permanent Committee of Chambers of Commerce," the "International Council of Women," and the "International Association of Cold."

We ought also to trace the history of the Universal Exhibitions, of which no one now questions the great influence on civilisation. As

¹ This equivalence has been conventionally admitted by the American Conference of 1902.

² There has been some question of founding such a school in Belgium.

is known, an "International Federation of Permanent Exhibition Committees" forms a connecting link between them, and endeavours to give them an increasingly synthetic organisation. There is also some attempt to follow up the exhibitions of things with exhibitions of ideas. Even in 1878, 1889, and 1900 the organisation of international congresses was centralised at Paris; but it was at Saint Louis in 1904 that the "International Congress of Science and Art" realised most effectively a genuinely encyclopædic and universal programme.

We ought also to have spoken of the arts, which have inspired a number of gatherings: architecture, music, public art, and photography have been the subjects of many important congresses. Even sport, which plays a considerable part in the international relations of our time, would deserve our attention. The "International Olympic Committee" and the "International League of Tourist Associations" are the most influential bodies in this field; and to them we must add bodies which are occupied with particular sports, such as cycling, motoring, aeronautics, gymnastics, skating, or Alpine sports.

We cannot, however, conclude our condensed account of the present state of international activity without devoting a few lines to the work done by those who are seeking to make an intellectual inventory of the world. Various Governments have already agreed to subsidise the "International Catalogue of Scientific Literature," which has been undertaken by the Royal Society of London with the assistance of regional centres. But the "International Institute of Bibliography and Documentation" has confronted the problem in all its magnitude. The work that it has imposed on itself consisted at first in collecting and methodically classifying the titles of all the works that have ever been written and published, but it has had gradually to enlarge its scheme and endeavour to bring together the works and publications themselves, and make summaries of them, which constitute so many chapters and paragraphs in the "Universal Book." The ambition of the promoters of this work is to summarise this great book, and thus raise a monument to human thought which will constitute the "Universal and Perpetual Encyclopædia." This encyclopædia will have as its collaborators the thinkers of every age and country. It will represent the "Sum Total" of the intellectual achievements of the ages.

Such, in broad outline, is the immense labour that is being accomplished by men of every nation and religion, every race and all shades of opinion. They recognise no frontiers: their country is a province of the world-wide empire of which they are fellow-citizens. Sometimes, indeed, they have no clear perception of the fact; they are not conscious that they are working together for the realisation of international life. To enkindle this consciousness, to materialise in

some measure the movement which is bearing humanity onward to a condition of harmony, a mutual understanding, and a closer co-operation in every country, is the aim of the founders of the "Central Office of International Institutions." They believe that, besides the problems that are peculiar to each branch of human knowledge, there are interests of a universal order which it is important to examine and study in common, and that there are certain general services to be rendered and organised. On that account they invited all who are entrusted with the direction of international bodies to take part in the "World-Congress of International Associations." At its first sittings¹ the Congress discussed the following questions: the international juridical status of international associations, the establishment of international systems of unity in science and technics, the international organisation of documentation, scientific and technical language, and the organisation of co-operative action between international institutions. The Central Office of International Institutions was² selected by the Congress as its permanent organ.

There is now, therefore, a centre of attraction round which, following the hierarchy of the sciences, the various international bodies may be grouped, and discharge in harmony their share in the elaboration and diffusion of knowledge. A voluntary undertaking, dependent on free co-operation, it will be at once the most eloquent symbol and the most patent proof of the unity of races.

[Paper submitted in French.]

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE AT ROME

By DAVID LUBIN,

United States Delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture.

"The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them."

"And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

THE International Institute of Agriculture may be deemed a step in evolutionary development, development in the field of economics. It

¹ The Congress was held at Brussels from the 9th to the 11th of May, 1910; one hundred and thirty-two international associations were represented at it.

² On this body see the pamphlet which deals specially with it, *Office Central des Institutions internationales*, rue de la Régence, 3bis; 8°, 32 pp., 1 franc.

is substantially a world co-operative institution, a world clearing-house of economic information. It is, in fact, the first permanent international parliament, a permanent parliament for economic betterment.

The initiative toward founding this Institute was taken by His Majesty the King of Italy, who called a Conference of the Governments for this purpose. This Conference met in Rome in May-June, 1905, and formulated a Treaty for the establishment of the Institute. This Treaty was ratified by forty-seven Governments, and the adhering countries now embrace 98 per cent. of the population and 95 per cent. of all the land of the world.

When the Treaty had been duly ratified by the adhering Governments, a building was erected for the Institute in the grounds of the Villa Borghese, in Rome, at the expense of His Majesty the King of Italy, who, in addition to this, munificently endowed the Institute with an income of 60,000 dollars a year.

Each of the nations adhering to the Institute is classed in one of five groups, which contribute to the support of the Institute in accordance with a ratio fixed for each group by the Treaty.

The supreme direction and control of the Institute is in the hands of the General Assembly, consisting of delegates appointed by the adhering Governments. The General Assembly is empowered, under Article 5 of the Treaty, to submit for the approval of the adhering Governments proposals for an enlargement of the functions of the Institute.

The administration of the Institute is entrusted to the Permanent Committee, composed of forty-seven delegates each representing one of the adhering countries. These delegates reside permanently in Rome. The executive officers are the President, Marquis Cappelli, delegate of Italy; the Vice-President, Mr. Louis Dop, delegate of France; and the Secretary-General, Professor P. Jannaccone. At present the staff consists of eighty-two employees of different nationalities.

The functions of the Instituté are defined in Article 9 of the Treaty,¹ and the work has been divided between four bureaus:

¹ ARTICLE 9.—The Institute, confining its operations within an international sphere, shall—

(a) Collect, study, and publish, as promptly as possible statistical, technical, or economic information concerning farming, both vegetable and animal products, the commerce in agricultural products, and the prices prevailing in the various markets;

(b) Communicate to parties interested, also as promptly as possible, all the information just referred to;

(c) Indicate the wages paid for farm work;

(d) Make known the new diseases of vegetables which may appear in any part of the world, showing the territories infected, the progress of the disease, and, if possible, the remedies which are effective in combating them.

(e) Study questions concerning agricultural co-operation, insurance, and credit in all their aspects; collect and publish information which might be useful in the

1. The administrative bureau ;
2. The bureau of crop-reporting and agricultural statistics ;
3. The bureau of agricultural intelligence and diseases of plants ;
4. The bureau of economic and social institutions (agricultural co-operation, insurance, and credit).

The main service of the Institute is crop-reporting, the importance of which will be made manifest by what follows.

The world's price of the staples of agriculture has a direct bearing on the home price, and the home price of the staples determines the status of the capital and labour of the farm, also the status of the capital and labour of the factory (for the staples of agriculture are the raw material of the manufacturer). Therefore, the price of the staples of agriculture influences the economic condition of all the people.

Now, the knowledge of the world's summary of the stocks on hand and the condition of the growing crops are the basis for the formation of the world's price, and, consequently, of the home price of the staples of agriculture. It is, therefore, of primary importance that such world summary be official and authoritative.

But, previous to the establishment of the International Institute of Agriculture, the dissemination of this summary was done by private, and therefore interested, concerns ; it reached the public in the form of several and divergent statements, and was consequently the cause of unnecessary and oft-times violent fluctuations in the price of the staples, thereby unsettling the economic condition of all the people.

The chief purpose of the International Institute of Agriculture is to remove the cause of these fluctuations, to remove the obstacles which impede the operation of the law of supply and demand in the formation of the prices of the staples of agriculture. And this the Institute does by supplying all concerned with an official and authoritative summary of the condition of the growing crops and the world's supply.

Accordingly, each of the adhering Governments supplies the Institute with its own crop-reporting data, relating (a) to the condition of the growing crops, and (b), to harvest yields in each country. various countries in the organisation of works connected with agricultural co-operation, insurance, and credit ;

(f) Submit to the approval of the Governments, if there is occasion for it, measures for the protection of the common interests of farmers and for the improvement of their condition, after having utilised all the necessary sources of information, such as the wishes expressed by international or other agricultural congresses or congresses of sciences applied to agriculture, agricultural societies, academies, learned bodies, &c.

All questions concerning the economic interests, the legislation, and the administration of a particular nation shall be excluded from the consideration of the Institute.

This is done on a uniform plan adopted by the General Assembly in 1909. The Statistical Bureau of the Institute employs this data in its mathematical calculations, deducing, in the form of a "Single Numerical Statement" the summary for the world, thus: 100 being taken as a normal, when the Institute reports 101 it indicates that the condition or yield of the world's crop is 1 per cent. above the normal; when the Institute reports 99 it means that it is 1 per cent. below the normal, and so forth. This is the method employed by the American Department of Agriculture for reporting crop conditions and yields in the United States, and it has been adopted by the Institute for reporting crop conditions and yields for the world.

The effect of the Institute's reports, expressed in the Single Numerical Statement for the world, disseminated each month telegraphically and by printed bulletins, was apparent almost from the start. The volume of wheat production for 1910 was very unevenly distributed; some countries having deficits and others large surpluses as compared to the production for the previous year. The immediate effect of a knowledge of local conditions in each of these countries was to unsettle prices, with a tendency to undue depression or inflation as the unusual surplus or deficit became known. But the Institute's reports, giving simultaneously the figures for all the countries, and drawing therefrom the total for the world in the form of a Single Numerical Statement, showed that the deficits were amply balanced by the surpluses, and that the world, as a whole, had produced substantially the same amount as the previous year. The effect of this was to steady the market and maintain normal prices, preventing the bearing down of the price in countries where the product was unusually abundant, and unjustifiable advances in countries where there was a deficit in the crop. Thus the Institute acts as an instrument towards making equity in exchange.

What has thus far been set forth is but a mere outline of some phases of the work done by the Institute. The limited space at my command does not permit further detail. This must be left for the discussion promised on the subjects to be brought up at this Congress.

Substantially, then, the International Institute of Agriculture is to provide the world with a new measure; a measure of the world's supply of the staples of agriculture; a measure as important in economic well-being as is the "dry measure," the "liquid measure," or the "time measure." And since the surest criterion between a lower and a higher civilisation is the comparative perfection of weights and measures, and their just application, it must follow that the Institute in this work is destined to serve as one of the rungs in the evolutionary ladder of civilisation.

We talk of the Flag, of Liberty, of Freedom, but in the 100 cents of

a dollar, is not each cent a measure of liberty, a measure of freedom? Has not its owner the liberty to exchange each cent for a certain measure of goods or for a certain measure of leisure? Hence it must follow that a cause which robs the cent of its purchasing power robs its owner of a like measure of liberty and freedom.

It was to prevent this universal, this international, robbery that the nations ratified the treaty establishing this Institute.

But a most important function of the Institute has yet to be stated: the International Institute of Agriculture is destined to become the world's temple of peace.

And on this head let me quote what Professor Carver of Harvard University says:—

I am particularly interested in the possibilities of the Institute as a factor in international peace. If the leading nations can be brought together in any kind of co-operative work for the general good of the civilised world, such as your system of crop-reporting, the very fact of working together will tend to produce friendship, and to make war hereafter impossible. It is probable that international unity will never come about by merely saying "Go to now, let us be united," but it will come about by just this form of co-operative work for a useful purpose, without much immediate thought as to its future reactions in the field of international friendship.

The sages and prophets of our day find their task easier than of yore, for the time has at last come when it is beginning to be understood that robbery, covetous greed, or disorder is not nearly as profitable as Equity, Service, and Order. It is now beginning to be understood that the economic gloom of one country casts its dark shadow of loss and suffering on all other countries, and that the sun of prosperity which shines in one country sheds its beneficent rays abroad, blessing all the other countries.

And what mode is there for the surer and quicker realisation of International Equity, of International Service, and of International Order than through an International Parliament?

But Parliaments, and above all International Parliaments, do not come, nor would they endure, without a struggle. And this applies particularly to this first international economic parliament, the International Institute of Agriculture. The forces which find it in their interest to disintegrate its structure are among the most crafty and powerful in the world, and they have a reach which goes direct to the heart of Governments.

Those, therefore, who champion the cause of international amity, should be among the first to take up an unmistakable stand in relation to this beginning of international parliamentary life; they may justify their activity in this field of service in behalf of peace by their support of the International Institute of Agriculture and there can be no place or occasion better suited towards this appeal than this first Universal Races Congress.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE BATAK INSTITUTE AT LEYDEN

By Dr. A. W. NIEUWENHUIS,

Professor of Ethnography in the University of Leyden.

THE considerations that led to the establishment of the Batak Institute at Leyden (1908) are as follows. Colonial Powers know, as a rule, far too little of the peoples of different races under their sway to be able to maintain an intercourse with them that may be called rational in all respects or to establish a rule in harmony with the opinions of the subject-race and the popular institutions based on them. By the word "rule" we must not chiefly understand administration and legislation, and certainly not these alone, but, first and foremost, the guidance of a people along paths that may lead to a healthy elevation of the standard of the whole of their social, economic, intellectual, and ethical life in harmony with their physical and psychical capabilities.

In order to acquire the knowledge that is indispensable for the accomplishment of this purpose in colonies as extensive as the Dutch Indies, it seems necessary that the first steps should be taken by private initiative, which is freer in its movements than Government, and that these early attempts should be focussed on a carefully chosen and sharply defined sphere. In this manner, hints may be collected for the Government as to the general policy which it should pursue, and an example may be set of intercourse between a Western and an Eastern race that is equally beneficial to both parties.

It was partly the influence of existing circumstances, partly personal reasons, that made the choice for a first attempt in this direction fall on the Batak, a tribe inhabiting the central mountain regions and plateaux of the northern part of Sumatra between the Menangkabau countries in the south and Acheh (Acheen) in the north.

After a careful preparation which began in 1905, after obtaining information from officials as well as from private persons, and after consultation with various Departments of State, scientific associations, and missionary societies, the following method of setting to work was decided upon:—

- (1) To bring together in a separate library as complete a collection as possible of the extant literature (including records, archives, and other reports).
- (2) To publish a survey (bibliography) of this collection.
- (3) To enter into personal relations with officials and private persons living in the country and to ensure their co-operation for the future, which is necessary for the acquisition and extension of our knowledge of local conditions, wants, and circumstances.
- (4) To compose a simple collective work, after the example of the Anglo-Indian District Gazetteers, which will give a summary account of what we know and what we do not know about the region under discussion.

This work has been carried out (from 1905 to 1911) by a permanent official, under the superintendence and guidance of the "directorium," who, having spent several years in a special part of the country of the Batak, and from the nature of his profession, had had an opportunity of obtaining considerable knowledge of both people and country.

This work, however necessary as a preparation, is, if not wholly, at least chiefly, theoretical, and will have to be followed by practical measures, which will be much more expensive. The Institute has already made a beginning with this second task. Some time ago attention was directed to the exploitation (probably for the greater part through irrigation) of a fairly extensive plateau (the plateau of Sibolangit) situated in the higher parts of Deli and inhabited by Batak. Moreover, encouragement is given to the spreading of the Dutch language among the Batak who wish to learn it. Lastly, the Institute undertook to send out (February, 1911) an agriculturist with good practical and theoretical knowledge, who is at the same time no stranger in the department of commerce. His destination was the Karo plateau in the highlands, far inland, in the district of the east coast of Sumatra, which is rich in plantations. The purpose of this mission was to bring the natives, especially through practical demonstration, to a wiser conduct of their principal branch of cultivation, viz., of rice, and to the growing of such produce as is likely to find a favourable market in the lowlands—in Deli first of all, perhaps afterwards also in the Straits Settlements.

If this attempt proves successful it will, on the one hand, promote the economic progress of the natives and, on the other hand, attract the interest of the European colonists to the Batak and their country.

Already a "Batak Society" has been established at Medan (1909), and it proposes to support the measures taken in the interests of the Batak and their country.

[Paper submitted in English.]

FIFTH SESSION

THE MODERN CONSCIENCE IN RELATION TO RACIAL QUESTIONS (GENERAL)

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF INTER RACIAL ETHICS, AND SOME PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF IT

By Dr. FELIX ADLER,

Professor of Social Ethics in Columbia University, New York.

IN so brief a paper on so large a subject, a bare indication of certain principal ideas must needs suffice. The first thought to be mentioned is the indispensableness of more explicit conceptions of the ideal to be realised in international relations. This Congress is devoted to the promotion of right international relations. Right relations are essentially ideal relations. The unethical conditions now prevailing between the different national and racial groups are due, in no small degree, to false ideals. False ideals can only be met and overcome by true. But what are the true ideals? Looking forward to the future of humanity, what sort of relations between its different components should we consider satisfactory? This question, surely, cannot be evaded.

In regard to the goal ahead, two errors are often committed. The one is illustrated by the use made of the phrase, "The parliament of man and the federation of the world." A parliament, a political device or instrument intended, in a general way, to secure beneficent ends, and admittedly securing them most imperfectly, is presented to the imagination as the *terminus ad quem* of international progress; and this instead of a distinct statement of the ends themselves towards which international progress is to be directed. It seems to be the opinion of those who take this poetic phrase more

or less literally that if only, in some capitol of the whole earth, a parliament could be got together representing all the different terrestrial interests, the welfare of mankind would be assured.

It is forgotten that no parliament ever yet existed which has learned to do justice even to the narrower set of interests confided to it ; that no parliament has as yet been free from the taint of class legislation and favouritism. And whether a parliament having for its constituency all the populations of the earth would be a manageable institution, and whether, if it could be set to work, it would operate more equably for the benefit of all than the present national parliaments, is, at least, an open question.¹ The second and more common error is to dismiss as visionary all thought of the ultimate goal, and to concentrate effort on the next step to be taken (without regard to whither it may ultimately lead) : the next step being relief from the pressure of present evils. The international situation is full of menace and cause for the gravest anxiety. What are we coming to, with all these incessant warlike preparations, this strain upon the economic resources of the civilised nations, the new peril due to the closer approach—with all the possibilities of friction involved—of the Occidental and Oriental peoples? The human race has run into a kind of blind alley, from which, by merely going on as heretofore, there is no escape. It must in some fashion retrace its steps and proceed in a new direction. We have plunged into a kind of morass. Should it not be our first and exclusive concern, it is said—our next step—to try to extricate ourselves from this marsh ; to put *terra firma* under our feet ; in other words, by means of arbitration treaties, international courts, and the like, to secure peace?

But what is it that has brought us to such a pass? Is it not false ideals—false military ideals, false ideals of national prestige and of material aggrandisement? And by what psychological and moral enginery shall we be lifted out of the marsh, if not by that of better and sounder ideals? Peace itself is only a means, not an end. To what end, then, do we desire peace? This is the most pertinent question of all. Is it for the multiplication of the sources of material enjoyment? Is it for the development of culture?—and if so, is it for the development of a single type of civilisation—Western civilisation, for instance? And is this to be extended universally, suppressing every other type? Whatever the end, let it be defined ;

¹ This is not intended to discredit the idea of such an Amphyctionic council, or of a veritable parliament of nations, but to draw attention to the fact that a parliament is a means to an end ; that the means cannot work successfully without a clear and just conception of the end to be promoted. This, indeed, is lacking as yet within the field of national politics, and clarification as to the international ideals would have a retro-active effect upon national ideals as well.

let it be put into the foreground; let it be envisaged in distinct outline.¹

The appeal to sympathy alone will not suffice. We have in modern times, it is true, become more sensitive to pain; and the horrors of war, when depicted by graphic pens, evoke temporarily a profound revulsion. But sympathy is in its nature fluctuating, and in larger groups of men, as well as in individuals, it is apt to alternate with the hardest kind of selfishness. Nor will the waste of war and the impoverishment that follows in its train serve as a deterrent. In moments of passion, a kind of frenzy is apt to be generated; all considerations of advantage are apt to be thrown to the winds; and all the arguments that an enlightened selfishness can produce are addressed to deaf ears. Nor will the growth of democracy prove a sufficient safeguard against the plague of war. On the contrary, a novel peril appears in the contagious rapidity with which emotional excitement is propagated among crowds; and democracies, as experience has shown, are quite as ready to kindle at the thought of conquest and are quite as likely to become delirious at the bare suspicion of an affront to national honour as single rulers or aristocracies. A stronger motive is needed; one that will appeal, not so much to ephemeral feeling or to the baser selfish instincts as to the most permanent and the loftiest of human interests, if, in the long run, the objects which the peace movement has in view are to be achieved. Not peace itself, but the ends which peace is to subserve, should be held up to view. As Anaxagoras observed to Pericles, "They who desire the lamp, will feed the oil": they who desire the lamp and light of ultimate right international relations, will be the most effective workers for the peace which is the *sine qua non* of such relations.

The purpose of this paper is really fulfilled in what has already been said. What remains is a short statement, intended to serve, by way of illustration, of the ideal principle as apprehended by the writer. This principle is that of the organisation of humanity. It is sometimes hastily assumed that society is actually an organism.²

¹ The above remarks are not intended to encourage the construction of Utopias, although even these have their value; yet it is impossible to look ahead far enough to elaborate in detail the picture of a desirable condition of human life in the distant future. This will depend on conditions and changes in condition which no one can now forecast. It is possible, however, to formulate a point of view, a principle, and a rule of conduct which shall determine the actions of men in the effort to secure the desirable future. Attempts at such formulations within the narrower political circumscription of the State have not been wanting. It is the plea of this paper that they should be more bravely applied to the relations of State with State, and that the problems of international ethics, as distinct from international law, should be more vigorously attacked.

² The word "organism" in the above is used for lack of a better. In reality, a new coinage is needed. A term like "met-organic," formed on the analogy of met-empirical,

This is far from being the case. But the goal to be kept in view, the directive principle, is that of the progressive organisation of the relations between peoples and racial groups.

And in the concept "organisation" are involved two postulates. One is the obligation to promote the utmost differentiation of the types of culture, the utmost variety and richness in the expression of the fundamental human faculties. The garden of humanity should present the spectacle of flowers infinitely varied in hue and fragrance. The human orchard should include trees bearing the most diverse fruit. It has often been said that greed and the lust of dominion are the principal causes of strife among nations. But it is certain that conceit in regard to one's own type of culture is equally one of the great contributing causes of war. This sort of conceit was characteristic of the ancients—Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, &c.—but it is no less conspicuous at the present time, especially among those who prefix the syllable "pan" to their racial designations—the Pan-Slavists, the Pan-Teutons, and those who believe in extending the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon race over the whole globe, &c.

Even some of the wisest of philosophers have fallen a prey to this delusion, this species of conceit. A man like Fichte, for instance, who is particularly esteemed on account of his ethical sensitiveness, represents his own people, the Germans, as the elect priesthood of culture, the torch-bearers from whom all others are to receive their light. It may be remarked by the way that this curious spiritual arrogance, this over-straining of claims, is probably

might be more suitable. Such words as "organism" and "organisation" suggest the animal organism as a prototype to be copied; but wherever the notion of organism has been restricted to this prototype the results have been ethically undesirable. For, in the animal as in the plant, there is ever some one pre-eminent organ or organs in which the significance of the whole is emphasised and to which the other organs and their functions are subordinated; hence, when biological analogies are pressed, when the animal organism is taken as the pattern on which the human world is to be fashioned, the resulting social systems are, of an aristocratic or monarchical character—some one function, like the military or the priestly, being assigned the rôle of expressing the life and purpose of the society as a whole, and all other social functions and those who perform them being treated as subservient. It is for this reason that the organic theory of the State has, in modern times, become suspect, as associated with reactionary tendencies.

The met-organic idea, on the other hand, is spiritual, and not animal, in derivation. Its distinguishing feature is that it excludes the notion of menial functions and functionaries. The distinction between high and low is empirical and based on the consideration of value. The spiritual view is based on the consideration of worth. And worth resides in every member of the social body, no matter how humble the station he occupies, in so far, namely, as he discharges his particular function with the whole in mind, that is to say, with a view of so fulfilling his function: as to promote thereby the reciprocally stimulative interplay of the whole system of functions.

On this point a bare allusion must here suffice, to prevent confusion of the term used with the current biological conceptions. A fuller statement will be attempted elsewhere.

due to the absence, as yet, of assured recognition for national claims, however just. The *bellum omnium contra omnes* still looms up as a constantly menacing possibility in international affairs; and hence any people with a literature of its own, an art of its own, legal and religious institutions that correspond to its Volksgeist—any people, in a word, that has created a specific culture-type, and rightly cherishes it, is still compelled to face the eventuality of hostile neighbours attacking and destroying the spiritual fruitage it has produced. But whatever the cause, it is certain that pride of culture—*i.e.*, of one's own specific culture, as superior to every other—is one of the chief elements of danger in the international situation.

The principle of organisation is designed to procure a modification, in this respect, of the opinion of the educated classes in all countries—for the educated classes are, after all, the leaders of the uneducated, and there is reason to hope that if a less provincial conception of culture shall have gained ground among the former, it will gradually be extended to the latter. At any rate, we must depend for the peace and progress of the world upon the formation of a horizontal upper layer of cultured persons among all the more civilised peoples—a cross-section, as it were, of the nations, whose convictions and sentiments shall supply the moral force on which international arbitration courts and similar agencies will have to depend.

The one postulate, then, of the principle we are discussing is that variety of the types of civilisation among mankind—rather than the universal prevalence of a single type, the others being suppressed—is desirable, and not only desirable, but the ethical aim towards which the efforts of the genuine lovers of progress should be bent. It may seem strange that a proposition of this kind requires to be emphasised; and yet this is undoubtedly necessary in view of the tendencies now clearly prevailing in the opposite direction. Surely the interdependence of the different species of culture is a patent fact. Surely the reciprocal influence of French, Italian, English, German culture on each other is obvious to the most casual student of history. Surely the educated Englishman of to-day would have, as it were, a limb of his own intellectual life amputated, would be seriously impoverished in his own spiritual being, if Germany and German civilisation were to be obliterated, or their further growth violently checked, and conversely; and so of all the rest. It is often said that the financial and economic interests of different nations are now so intimately bound up with one another that war is becoming foolish, because after a victorious war the conqueror would find himself worse off economically, on account of the destruction of capital which he has inflicted on the conquered.

But if this be true of material interests, how much more is it true of spiritual interests !

The second postulate involved in the principle of organisation is that any particular culture-type is not only stimulated and enriched by the absorption of elements derived from elsewhere, but that the flaws, as well as the excellent features of any type of culture, may be best detected in the effect it produces on other types. Of us as individuals it may be said that we live in our radiations ; that the kind of influence we exert upon those with whom we come in contact is the truest measure of the degree of perfection or imperfection inherent in us. And the same is true of the larger collective groups of men. The qualities and defects of Occidental civilisation, for instance, nowhere appear so strikingly as in the effect we have produced on Oriental peoples. In some respects this effect has been palpably beneficial. The mechanical inventions, the science, the educational methods of the West have been imported into the East, and in countries like Japan, and to some extent in China, are being rapidly assimilated. On the other hand, we have inflicted incalculable spiritual harm upon the nations of the East by undermining the religious foundations upon which their civilisation has rested, and by failing to replace adequately the supports which we are breaking down. One of the profoundest problems of the world to-day is here apparent—the problem of what is ultimately to be the result of the intrusion of Western thought, Western science, Western forms of government, upon great populations whose *Volksgeist* rejects Western agnosticism, and who have shown but a limited degree of receptivity to Western forms of religion. And the ill effects which we have wrought, and which it is to be feared our influence may further operate in the future—do they not reveal in glaring fashion the disharmonies that exist within our own Western civilisation, the broken unity of life from which we ourselves suffer, the onesidedness and unsatisfactoriness of the type of culture by which we attempt to live ?

The thought I am aiming to express is that the give-and-take relation between the culture-types (and the more numerous and varied they are, the better) not only serves the purpose of enrichment, not only serves to prevent ossification and decay, but also serves to expose the weak points at which radical efforts at recuperation and improvement are requisite. If humanity is ever to become a *corpus organicum spirituale*—and that is the aim—then a conception based on reciprocity of cultural influence, favourable to the greatest possible variety of types, and assuring to the different groups of mankind their integrity as distinct members, in order that they may make manifest the distinctive gifts with which Nature has endowed them, seems unavoidable.

It has been said of late that, however moral considerations may prevail between individuals, the rule upon which nations must act is the rule of selfishness. If we are ever to get beyond this barbarous view, it must be with the help of an ideal principle which shall teach the wiser national self-love as against this crude national selfishness, and which shall make it plain that the ends of the wiser self-love are only to be attained by fostering the seemingly alien ends of others.

The space at my command does not permit more than this short sketch; nor is it possible to do more than state two practical objects upon which, in obedience to the considerations here presented, our endeavours might be concentrated. The one relates to our dealings with the uncivilised races. To them should be applied what may be called the "methods of race pedagogy." Close attention should be paid to any experiments that have up to now been conducted in the schooling of primitive communities; the conditions of success, where a measure of success has been achieved, should be noted, and new experiments of this kind should be undertaken on a large scale. Systematic agricultural and industrial training seem, perhaps, to promise, in the case of the backward races, the best results. But no efforts of this kind can be considered exemplary which are not animated by a disinterested desire to benefit the people to be educated. With some fine exceptions, we have had, until now, chiefly exploitation of the backward races: on the one hand, inhumane exploitation for the sole benefit of the exploiters; and then, again, humane treatment of the backward races, but still for the benefit of the exploiters, on the assumption that kindness and patience in the long run pay best. What is now needed is humane treatment of the backward races for the benefit of those races themselves—that is, in the long run for the benefit of humanity in general.

And the second practical object to which attention should be devoted relates to the intellectual and moral equipment of colonial administrators and members of the diplomatic service. If the ethical conception here presented be valid, the greatest stress should be laid, in the case of those who come into direct influential contact with foreign groups, on a detailed study by them of the people to whom they are sent—of their customs, manners, laws, literature, religion, and art. And it should be the aim of those who direct such studies to engender in the students a generous appreciation of all that is fine and worthy in the character and culture of the alien people. For only friendliness will secure a hearing, and only those who sincerely appreciate the excellent qualities of foreigners can help them overcome their deficiencies and lead them along the path of further progressive development.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE JEWISH RACE

By ISRAEL ZANGWILL, *London.*

TO sum up in a few thousand words a race which has energised for four thousand years is a task which can only be executed, if at all, by confining oneself to elementals. And of these elementals the first and most important is the soul of the people. The soul of the Jewish race is best seen in the Bible, saturated from the first page of the Old Testament to the last page of the New with the aspiration for a righteous social order, and an ultimate unification of mankind of which, in all specifically Jewish literature, the Jewish race is to be the medium and missionary. Wild and rude as were the beginnings of this race, frequent as were its backslidings, and great as were—and are—its faults, this aspiration is continuous in its literature even up to the present day. There is every reason to believe that the historic texts of the Old Testament were redacted in the interests of this philosophy of history, but this pious falsification is very different from the self-glorification of all other epics. Israel appears throughout not as a hero, but as a sinner who cannot rise to his rôle of redeemer, of “servant of the Lord”—that rôle of service, not dominance, for which his people was “chosen.” The Talmud, the innumerable volumes of saintly Hebrew thought, the Jewish liturgy, whether in its ancient or its mediæval strata, the “modernist” platforms of reformed American synagogues, all echo and re-echo this conception of “the Jewish mission.” Among the masses it naturally transformed itself into nationalism, but even this narrower concept of “the chosen people” found poetic expression as a tender intimacy between God and Israel. “With everlasting love hast Thou loved the house of Israel, Thy people; a Law and commandments, statutes and judgments, hast Thou taught us. . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who lovest Thy people, Israel.” Such is the evening benediction still uttered by millions of Hebrew lips.

And the performance of this Law and these commandments, statutes, and judgments, covering as they did the whole of life, produced—despite the tendency of all law to over-formality—a domestic ritual of singular beauty and poetry, a strenuous dietary and religious *régime*, and tender and self-controlling traits of character, which have combined to make the Jewish masses as far above their non-Jewish environment as the Jewish wealthier classes are below theirs. No demos in the world is so saturated with idealism and domestic virtue, and when it is compared with the yet uncivilised and brutalised masses of Europe, when, for example, the lowness of its infantile mortality or the healthiness of its school children is contrasted with

the appalling statistics of its neighbours, there is sound scientific warrant for endorsing even in its narrowest form its claim to be "a chosen people."

This extraordinary race arose as a pastoral clan in Mesopotamia, roved to Palestine, thence to Egypt, and after a period of slavery returned to Palestine as conquerors and agriculturists, there to practise the theocratic code imposed by Moses (perhaps the noblest figure in all history), and to evolve in the course of the ages a poetic and prophetic literature of unparalleled sublimity. That union of spirituality, intellectuality, and fighting-power in the breed, which raised it above all ancient races except the Greek, was paid for by an excessive individualism which distracted and divided the State. Jerusalem fell before the legions of Titus. But half a century before it fell it had produced Christianity, and thus entered on a new career of world-conquest. And five centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem, its wandering scions had impregnated Mohammed with the ideas of Islam. Half the world was thus won for Hebraism in some form or other and the notion of "the Jewish mission" triumphantly vindicated. A nucleus of the race, however, still persisted, partly by nationalist instinct, partly by the faith that its doctrines had been adulterated by illegitimate elements and its mission was still unaccomplished; and it is this persistence to-day of a Hebrew population of twelve millions—a Jewdom larger than any that its ancient conquerors had ever boasted of crushing—which constitutes the much-discussed Jewish problem.

But there was a Jewish diaspora even before Jerusalem fell—settlements of Jews all round the Mediterranean, looking, however, to Jerusalem as a national and religious centre. The Book of Esther is historically dubious, but it contains one passage which is a summary of Jewish history: "And Haman said unto King Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom, and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the King's laws: therefore it is not for the King's profit to suffer them. If it please the King, let it be written that they may be destroyed." The Jewish problem in fact, from the Gentile point of view, is entirely artificial. It springs exclusively from Christian or heathen injustice and intolerance, from the oppression of minorities, from the universal law of dislike for the unlike. In Russia, which harbours nearly half of his race, the Jew is confined to a Pale and forbidden the villages even of that Pale, he is cramped and crippled at every phase of his existence, he must fight for Russia but cannot advance in the Army or the Navy or the Government service, except at the price of baptism. Occasionally bands of Black Hundreds are loosed upon him in bloody pogroms,

but his everyday existence has not even this tragic dignity. It is a sordid story of economic oppression designed to keep this mere 4 per cent. of the population from dominating Holy Russia. Ten years ago Count Pahlen's Commission reported that "90 per cent. of the Jews in the Pale have no staple occupation," and if the Government enforces the Sunday Law recently passed by the Duma, it means that they will in many cases be forced to choose between their own Sabbath and semi-starvation. Already the ancient hope and virtue of the most cheerful of races are slowly asphyxiating in the never-lifting fog of poverty and persecution. A similar situation in Roumania, if on a smaller scale as affecting only a quarter of a million of Jews, is accentuated in bitterness by Roumania's refusal to fulfil the obligation of equal treatment she undertook at the Berlin Congress, and the passivity of the Powers in presence of violated treaties adds to the Jewish tragedy the tragedy of a world grown callous of its own spiritual interests. The Jews, whose connection with Roumania is at least fifteen centuries old, are not even classed as citizens. They are "vagabonds." In Morocco the situation of the Jews is one of unspeakable humiliation. They are confined to a Mellah, and, as the Moroccan proverb puts it, "One may kill as many as seven Jews without being punished." The Jews have even to pickle the heads of decapitated rebels. Tested by the Judæometer, Germany herself is still uncivilised, for if she has had no Dreyfus case, it is perhaps because no Jew is permitted military rank. Even in America, with its lip-formula of brotherhood, a gateless Ghetto has been created by the isolation of the Jews from the general social life.

But if from the Gentile point of view the Jewish problem is an artificial creation, there is a very real Jewish problem from the Jewish point of view—a problem which grows in exact proportion to the diminution of the artificial problem. Orthodox Judaism in the diaspora cannot exist except in a Ghetto, whether imposed from without or evolved from within. Rigidly professing Jews cannot enter the general social life and the professions. Jews *qua* Jews were better off in the Dark Ages, living as chattels of the King under his personal protection and to his private profit, or in the ages when they were confined in Ghettos. Even in the Russian Pale a certain measure of autonomy still exists. It is emancipation that brings the Jewish "Jewish problem." It is precisely in Italy with its Jewish Prime Minister and its Jewish Syndic of Rome that this problem is most acute. The Saturday Sabbath imposes economic limitations even when the State has abolished them. As Shylock pointed out, his race cannot eat or drink with the Gentile. Indeed, social intercourse would lead to intermarriage. Unless Judaism is

reformed it is, in the language of Heine, a misfortune, and if it is reformed, it cannot logically confine its teachings to the Hebrew race, which, lacking the normal protection of a territory, must be swallowed up by its proselytes.

The comedy and tragedy of Jewish existence to-day derive primarily from this absence of a territory in which the race could live its own life. For the religion which has preserved it through the long dark centuries of dispersion has also preserved its territorial traditions in an almost indissoluble amalgam of religion and history. Palestine soil clings all about the roots of the religion, which has, however, only been transplanted at the cost of fossilisation. The old agricultural festivals are observed at seasons with which, in many lands of the exile, they have no natural connection. The last national victory celebrated—that of Judas Maccabæus—is two thousand years old; the last popular fast dates from the first century of the Christian era. The Jew agonising in the Russian Pale rejoices automatically in his Passover of Freedom, in his exodus from Egypt. Even while the tribal traits had still the potential fluidity of life, neither Greeks nor Romans could change this tenacious race. Its dispersion from Palestine merely indurated its traditions by freeing them from the possibility of common development. The religious customs defended by Josephus against Apion are still the rule of the majority. Even new traits superimposed by their history upon fractions of the race are conserved with equal tenacity. The Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 still retain a sub-loyalty to the King of Spain and speak a Spanish idiom, printed in Hebrew characters, which preserves in the Orient words vanished from the lips of actual Spaniards and to be found only in Cervantes.

This impotency to create afresh—which is the negative aspect of conservatism—translated itself, after the final revolt of Bar Cochba against the Romans early in the second century, into a pious resignation. The Jewish exile was declared to be the will of God, which it was even blasphemous to struggle against, and the Jews, in a strange and unique congruity with the teachings of the prophet they rejected, turned the other cheek to the smiter and left to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, concentrating themselves in every land of the exile upon industry, domesticity, and a transmuted religion, in which realities were desiccated into metaphors, and the Temple sacrifices sublimated into prayers. Rabbinic opportunism, while on the one hand keeping alive the hope that these realities, however gross, would come back in God's good time, went so far in the other direction as to lay it down that the law of the land was the law of the Jews. Everything in short—in this transitional period between

the ancient glory and the Messianic era to come—was sacrificed to the ideal of mere survival. The mediæval teacher Maimonides laid it down that to preserve life even Judaism might be abandoned in all but its holiest minimum. Thus—under the standing menace of massacre and spoliation—arose Crypto-Jews or Marranos, who, frequently at the risk of the stake or sword, carried on their Judaism in secret. Catholics in Spain and Portugal, Protestants in England, they were in Egypt or Turkey Mohammedans. Indeed, the *Dönmeh* still flourish in Salonika and provide the Young Turks with statesmen; the Balearic Islands still shelter the *Chuetas*, and only half a century ago persecution produced the *Yedil-al-Islam* in Central Asia. Russia must be full of Greek Christians who have remained Jewish at heart. Last year a number of Russian Jews, shut out from a University career and seeking the lesser apostasy, became Mohammedans, only to find that for them the Trinity was the sole avenue to educational and social salvation.

Where existence could be achieved legally, yet not without social inferiority, a minor form of Crypto-Judaism was begotten, which prevails to-day in most lands of Jewish emancipation, among its symptoms being change of names, accentuated local patriotism, accentuated abstention from Jewish affairs, and even anti-Semitism mimetically absorbed from the environment. Indeed, Marranoism, both in its major and minor forms, may be regarded as an exemplification of the Darwinian theory of protective colouring. This pervasive assimilating force acts even upon the most faithful, undermining more subtly than persecution the life-conceptions so tenaciously perpetuated.

Nor is there anywhere in the Jewish world of to-day any centripetal force to counteract these universal tendencies to dissipation. The religion is shattered into as many fragments as the race. After the fall of Jerusalem the Academy of Jabneh carried on the authoritative tradition of the *Sanhedrin*. In the Middle Ages there was the *Asefah* or Synod to unify Jews under Judaism. From the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century the *Waad* or Council of Four Lands legislated almost autonomously in those central European regions where the mass of the Jews of the world was then congregated. To-day there is no centre of authority, whether religious or political. Reform itself is infinitely individual, and nothing remains outside a few centres of congestion but a chaos of dissolving views and dissolving communities, saved from utter disappearance by persecution and racial sympathy. The notion that Jewish interests are Jesuitically federated or that Jewish financiers use their power for Jewish ends is one of the most ironic of myths. No Jewish people or nation now exists, no Jews even as sectarians of

a specific faith with a specific centre of authority such as Catholics or Wesleyans possess ; nothing but a multitude of individuals, a mob hopelessly amorphous, divided alike in religion and political destiny. There is no common platform from which the Jews can be addressed, no common council to which any appeal can be made. Their only unity is negative—that unity imposed by the hostile hereditary vision of the ubiquitous Haman. They live in what scientists call symbiosis with every other people, each group surrendered to its own local fortunes. This habit of dispersed and dependent existence has become second nature, and the Jews are the first to doubt whether they could now form a polity of their own. Like Aunt Judy in *John Bull's Other Island*, who declined to breakfast out of doors because the open air was "not natural," the bulk of the Jews consider a Jewish State as a political perversion. There are no subjects more zealous for their adopted fatherlands ; indeed, they are only too patriotic. There are no Ottomans so Young-Turkish as the Turkish Jews, no Americans so spread-eagle as the American Jews, no section of Britain so Jingo as Anglo-Jewry, which even converts the Chanukah Celebration of Maccabæan valour into a British military festival. Of the two British spies now confined in German fortresses one is a Jew. The French Jewry and the German reproduce in miniature the Franco-German rivalries, and the latter even apes the aggressive *Welt-Politik*. All this ultra-patriotism is probably due to Jews feeling consciously what the other citizens take subconsciously as a matter of course ; doubtless, too, a certain measure of Marranoism or protective mimicry enters into the ostentation. At any rate, each section of Jewry, wherever it is permitted entrance into the general life, invariably evolves a somewhat overcoloured version of the life in which it finds itself embedded, and fortunate must be accounted the peoples which have at hand so gifted and serviceable a race, proud to wear their livery.

What wonder that Jews are the chief ornaments of the stage, that this chameleon quality finds its profit in artistic mimicry as well as in biological. Rachel, the child of a foreign pedlar in a Paris slum, teaches purity of diction to the Faubourg St. Germain ; Sarah Bernhardt, the daughter of Dutch Jews, carries the triumph of French acting across the Atlantic. A Hungarian Jew, Ludwig Barnay, played a leading rôle in the theatrical history of Germany, and another, von Sonnenthal, in that of Austria. For if, like all other peoples, the Jews can only show a few individuals of creative genius—a Heine, a Spinoza, a Josef Israels, a Mendelssohn, &c.—they flourish in all the interpretative arts out of all proportion to their numbers. They flood the concert-platforms—whether as conductors, singers, or performers. As composers they are more

melodious than epoch-making. Till recently unpractised in painting and sculpture, they are now copiously represented in every gallery and movement, though only rarely as initiators. Indeed, the Jew is a born intermediary, and every form of artistic and commercial agency falls naturally into his hands. He is the connoisseur *par excellence*, the universal art-dealer. His gift of tongues, his relationship with all the lands of the exile, mark him out for success in commerce and finance, in journalism and criticism, in scholarship and travel. It was by their linguistic talents that the adventurous journeys of Arminius Vámbéry and Emin Pasha were made possible. If a Russian Jew, Berenson, is the chief authority on Italian art, and George Brandes, the Dane, is Europe's greatest critic, if Reuter initiated telegraphic news and Blowitz was the prince of foreign correspondents, if the Jewish Bank of Amsterdam founded modern finance and Charles Frohman is the world's greatest *entrepreneur*, all these phenomena find their explanation in the cosmopolitanism of the wandering Jew. Lifted to the plane of idealism, this cosmopolitan habit of mind creates Socialism through Karl Marx and Lassalle, an international language through Dr. Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto, a prophecy of the end of war through Jean de Bloch, an International Institute of Agriculture through David Lubin, and a Race Congress through Dr. Felix Adler. For when the Jew grows out of his own Ghetto without narrowing into his neighbour's, he must necessarily possess a superior sense of perspective.

As a physician the Jew's fame dates from the Middle Ages, when he was the bearer of Arabian science, and the tradition that Kings shall always have Jewish physicians is still unbroken. Dr. Ehrlich's recent discovery of "606," the cure for syphilis, and Dr. Haffkine's inoculation against the plague in India, are but links in a long chain of Jewish contributions to medicine. Nor would it be possible to mention any other science, whether natural or philological, to which Jewish professors have not contributed revolutionising ideas. The names of Lombroso for criminology, Freud for psychology, Benfey for Sanscrit, Jules Oppert for Assyriology, Sylvester and Georg Cantor for Mathematics, and Mendeleieff for Chemistry (the "Periodic Law") must suffice as examples.

In law, mathematics, and philosophy the Jew is peculiarly at home, especially as an expounder. In chess he literally sweeps the board. There is never a contest for the championship of the world in which both rivals are not Jews. Even the first man to fly (and die) was the Jew, Lilienthal.

But to gauge the contribution of the Jew to the world's activity is impossible here. To mention only living Jews, one thinks at

random of the Rothschilds with their ubiquitous financial and philanthropic activity, Sir Ernest Cassel financing the irrigation of Egypt, Mr. Jacob Schiff financing the Japanese war against Russia and building up the American Jewry, Herr Ballin creating the Hamburg American Line, Maximilian Harden's bold political journalism, the Dutch jurist Asser at the Hague Conference, or the American statesman and peace-lover, Oscar Straus, the French plays of Bernstein or the German plays of Ludwig Fulda, or the Dutch plays of Heijermans or the Austrian plays of Schnitzler, the trenchant writings of Max Nordau, the paintings of Solomon and Rothenstein, of Jules Adler and Max Liebermann, the archæological excavations of Waldstein, Hammerstein building the English Opera House, Imre Király organising our exhibitions, Sidney Lee editing the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir Matthew Nathan managing the Post Office, Meldola investigating coal-tar dyes, the operas of Goldmark, the music-plays of Herr Oscar Straus and Humperdinck (Frau Max Bernstein), the learned synopses of Salomon Reinach, the sculpture of Antokolsky, Mischa Elman and his violin, Sir Rufus Isaacs pleading on behalf of the Crown, Signor Nathan polemising with the Pope, Dr. Frederick Cowen conducting one of his own symphonies, Michelson measuring the velocity of light, Lippmann developing colour-photography, Henri Bergson giving pause to Materialism with his new philosophy of Creative Evolution, Bréal expounding the science of Semantics, or Hermann Cohen his neo-Kantism, and one wonders what the tale would be both for yesterday and to-day if every Jew wore a yellow badge and every Crypto-Jew came out into the open, and every half-Jew were as discoverable as Montaigne or the composer of "The Mikado." The Church could not even write its own history: that was left for the Jew, Neander. To the Gentile the true Jewish problem should rather be how to keep the Jew in his midst—this rare 1 per cent. of mankind. The elimination of all this genius and geniality would surely not enhance the gaiety of nations. Without Disraeli would not England lose her only Saint's Day?

But the miracle remains that the Gentile world has never yet seen a Jew, for behind all these cosmopolitan types which obsess its vision stand inexhaustible reserves of Jewish Jews—and the Talmudic mystic, the Hebrew-speaking sage, remains as unknown to the Western world as though he were hidden in the fastnesses of Tibet. A series of great scholars—Geiger, Zunz, Steinschneider, Schechter—has studied the immense Hebrew literature produced from age to age in these obscure Jewries. But there is a modern Hebrew literature, too, a new galaxy of poets and novelists, philosophers and humanists, who express in the ancient tongue the subtlest shades of the thought

of to-day. And there is a still more copious literature in Yiddish, no less rich in men of talent and even genius, whose names have rarely reached the outside world.

And if the Jew, with that strange polarity which his historian Graetz remarked in him, displays simultaneously with the most tenacious preservation of his past the swiftest surrender of it that the planet has ever witnessed, if we find him entering with such passionate patriotism into almost every life on earth but his own, may not even the Jewish patriot draw the compensating conclusion that the Jew therein demonstrates the comparative superficiality of all these human differences? Like the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady, all these peoples are the same under their skins—as even Bismarck was once constrained to remark when he saw Prussians and Frenchmen lying side by side in the community of death. Could Jews so readily assimilate to all these types, were these types fundamentally different? The primitive notion of the abysmal separateness of races can scarcely survive under Darwinism. Every race is really akin to every other. Imagine a Canine Congress debating if all those glaring differences of form, size, and colour could possibly consist with an underlying and essential dogginess.

Not only is every race akin to every other, but every people is a hotch-potch of races. The Jews, though mainly a white people, are not even devoid of a coloured fringe, black, brown, or yellow. There are the Beni-Israel of India, the Falashas of Abyssinia, the disappearing Chinese colony of Kai-Fung-Foo, the Judeos of Loango, the black Jews of Cochin, the negro Jews of Fernando Po, Jamaica, Surinam, &c., the Daggatuns and other warlike nomads of the North African deserts, who remind us what the conquerors of the Philistines were like. If the Jews are in no metaphorical sense brothers of all these peoples, then all these peoples are brothers of one another. If the Jew has been able to enter into all incarnations of humanity and to be at home in every environment, it is because he is a common measure of humanity. He is the pioneer by which the true race theory has been experimentally demonstrated. Given a white child, it is the geographical and spiritual heritage—the national autocosm, as I have called it—into which the child is born that makes out of the common human element the specific Frenchman, American, or Dutchman. And even the colour is not an unbridgeable and elemental distinction.

Nor is it only with living races that the Jew has manifested his and their mutual affinity: he brings home to us his brotherhood and ours with the peoples that are dead, the Medes, the Babylonians, the Assyrians. If the Jew Paul proved that the Hebrew Word was universal, the Jews who rejected his teaching have proved the univer-

sality of the Hebrew race. One touch of Jewry makes the whole world kin.

The labours of Hercules sink into child's play beside the task the late Dr. Herzl set himself in offering to this flotsam and jetsam of history the project of political reorganisation on a single soil. But even had this dauntless idealist secured co-operation instead of bitter hostility from the denaturalised leaders of all these Jewries, the attempt to acquire Palestine would have had the opposition of Turkey and of the 600,000 Arabs in possession. It is little wonder that since the great leader's lamentable death Zionism—again with that idealisation of impotence—has sunk back into a cultural movement which, instead of ending the exile, is to unify it through the Hebrew tongue and nationalist sentiment. But for such unification a religious revival would have been infinitely more efficacious: race alone cannot survive the pressure, of so many hostile *milieux*—or still more parlous, so many friendly. The Territorial movement, representing the original nucleus of the Herzlian idea, is still searching for a real and not a metaphorical soil, its latest negotiation being with the West Australian Government.

But if the prospect of a territorial solution of the Jewish question, whether in Palestine or in the New World, appears remote, it must be admitted that the Jewish race, in abandoning before the legions of Rome the struggle for independent political existence in favour of spiritual isolation and economic symbiosis, discovered the secret of immortality, if also of perpetual motion. In the diaspora Anti-Semitism will always be the shadow of Semitism. The law of dislike for the unlike will always prevail. And whereas the unlike is normally situated at a safe distance, the Jews bring the unlike into the heart of every *milieu*, and must thus defend a frontier-line as large as the world. The fortunes of war vary in every country, but there is a perpetual tension and friction even at the most peaceful points, which tend to throw back the race on itself. The drastic method of love—the only human dissolvent—has never been tried upon the Jew as a whole, and Russia carefully conserves—even by a ring-fence—the breed she designs to destroy. But whether persecution extirpates or brotherhood melts, hate or love can never be simultaneous throughout the diaspora, and so there will probably always be a nucleus from which to re-stock this eternal type. But what a melancholy immortality! "To be *and* not to be"—that is a question beside which Hamlet's alternative is crude.

It only remains to consider what part the world should be called upon to play in the solution of this tragic problem. To preserve the Jews, whether as a race or as a religious community, is no part of the world's duty, nor would artificial preservation preserve anything of

value. Their salvation must come from themselves, though they may well expect at least such sympathy and help as Italy and Greece found in their struggles for regeneration. The world's duty is only to preserve the ethical ideals it has so slowly and laboriously evolved, largely under Jewish inspiration. Civilisation is not called upon to save the Jews, but it *is* called upon to save itself. And by its treatment of the Jews it is destroying itself. If there is no justice in Venice for Shylock, then alas for Venice!

"If you deny me, fie upon your law!

There is no force in the decrees of Venice."

Even from the economic standpoint Russia, with her vast population of half-starved peasants, is wasting one of her most valuable assets by crippling Jewish activity, both industrially and geographically. In insisting that Russia abolish the Jewish Pale I am pleading for the regeneration of Russia, not of the Russian Jew. A first-class ballet is not sufficient to constitute a first-class people. Very truly said Roditchev, one of the Cadet leaders, "Russia cannot enter the Temple of Freedom as long as there exists a Pale of Settlement for the Jews." But abolition of the Pale and the introduction of Jewish equality will be the deadliest blow ever aimed at Jewish nationality. Very soon a fervid Russian patriotism will reign in every Ghetto, and the melting-up of the race begin. But this absorption of the five or six million Jews into the other hundred and fifty millions of Russia constitutes the Jewish half of the problem. It is the affair of the Jews.

That the preservation of the Jewish race or religion is no concern of the world's is a conclusion which saves the honest Jew from the indignity of appealing to it. For with what face can the Jew appeal *ad misericordiam* before he has made the effort to solve his own problem? There is no reason why a race any more than a man should be safeguarded against its own unwisdom and its own flabbiness. No race can persist as an entity that is not ready to pay the price of persistence. Other peoples are led by their best and strongest. But the best and strongest in Israel are absorbed by the superior careers and pleasures of the environment—even in Russia there is a career for the renegade, even in Roumania for the rich—and the few who remain to lead, lead for the most part to destroy. If, however, we are tempted to say, "Then let this people agonise as it deserves," we must remember that the first to suffer are not the powerful, but the poor. It is the masses who bear almost the entire brunt of Alien Bills and massacres and economic oppression. While to the philosopher the absorption of the Jews may be as desirable as their regeneration, in practice the solution by dissolution presses most heavily upon the weakest. The dissolution invariably begins from above, leaving the lower classes denuded of a people's natural defences, the upper

classes. Moreover, while, as already pointed out, the Jewish upper classes are, if anything, inferior to the classes into which they are absorbed, the marked superiority of the Jewish masses to their environment, especially in Russia, would render *their* absorption a tragic degeneration.

But if dissolution would bring degeneracy and emancipation dissolution, the only issue from this dilemma is the creation of a Jewish State, or at least a Jewish land of refuge upon a basis of local autonomy, to which, in the course of the centuries, all that was truly Jewish would gravitate. And if the world has no ethical duty to take the lead in this creation, it may yet find its profit in getting rid of the Jewish problem. Many regions of the New World, whether in America or Australia, would moreover be enriched and consolidated by the accession of a great Jewish colony, while to the Old World its political blessing might be many-sided. A host of political rivalries, perilous to the world's peace, centre round Palestine, while in the still more dangerous quarter of Mesopotamia, a co-operation of England and Germany in making a home under the Turkish flag for the Jew in his original birthplace would reduce Anglo-German friction, foster world-peace, and establish in the heart of the Old World a bridge of civilisation between the East and the West and a symbol of hope for the future of mankind.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE MODERN CONSCIENCE IN RELATION TO THE TREATMENT OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES AND COMMUNITIES

By Sir CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G.,

Late Governor of Mauritius, Author of "The Broad Stone of Empire."

I.

BY conscience I mean an inherent mental faculty which enables a man to judge and to appreciate the judgment of others on the consequences of his actions. It is the function of this faculty to control his physical instincts, which have their roots deepest in human nature; the lust of the flesh, which secures the continuity of his family, and the pride of life, which prompts him to labour for the necessities, comfort, and luxury of his family and their multiplied descendants. Both of these instincts are subject to the law of human nature that a man will, if he can, take from others anything they have which he desires. On the other hand, conscience is itself controlled by two

forces. Darwin says: "At a moment of action man will, no doubt, be apt to follow the strongest impulse, and though this may occasionally prompt him to the noblest deeds, it will more commonly lead him to gratify his own desires at the expense of other men. But after their gratification, when past and weaker impressions are judged by the ever-enduring social instinct and by his deep regard for the good opinion of his fellows, retribution will surely come. He will then feel remorse, repentance, regret, or shame; this latter feeling, however, relates almost exclusively to the judgment of others. He will consequently resolve more or less firmly to act differently for the future, and this is conscience."

I define this rather as one of the forces that control conscience, and express it in the phrase, "man's conception of his duty to his neighbour." The other force is the influence of man's belief in supernatural agencies, expressed in the phrase, "man's conception of his duty to God."

Man's conception of his duty to his neighbour has been modified by three relations of affinity—race, creed, and colour; and each of these affinities has been the motive of conflict between the communities it has included and those it has excluded.

The history of civilisation is the history of the evolution of conscience in controlling the policy of the included to the excluded communities in these conflicts. It presents an orderly process of development through three stages, each exhibiting a dominant policy—a policy of extermination, a policy of servitude, and a policy of amalgamation. By amalgamation I mean union in the same community as masters and servants, as fellow-labourers, as fellow-citizens, and, if possible, but not necessarily, as connected by intermarriage.

For the purposes of this paper I accept the ethnologic distribution of mankind into three primary groups of races, Caucasian, Mongolian, and Æthiopic or Negro; and, bearing in mind the broad issues which the Congress is invited to discuss, I use the phrase modern conscience in the sense of the conscience of the white races of the Caucasian group professing the creed of Christianity, in whatever part of the world they may have established themselves on a common territory under a common government.

Adopting the pragmatic method of interpreting a conception by illustrating its practical consequences, I propose, after briefly tracing the evolution of this conscience in the area of origin, to consider its influence, first, on the treatment of the Semitic and Indian races of the Caucasian group, and then on typical races of the Mongolian and Negro groups. I may add that, in considering the treatment of dependent peoples and communities, I embrace in the term servitude

exclusion from civic rights ; in the term amalgamation I include treatment as potential citizens with a view to amalgamation.

II.

Western civilisation is the product of three civilisations, Grecian, Roman, and Teutonic, superimposed by racial forces, and welded into unity by Christianity. Each of the earlier civilisations established and maintained itself by the tyranny of a race claiming an inherent monopoly of a capacity of self-government, and asserting the corollary claim of a monopoly of capacity to govern others grouped under the designation of barbarians or inferior races. In turn each was displaced by the inferior races revolting against the methods by which the claim of superiority was enforced, and substituting a new civilisation based on the same claim and enforced by the same methods. But each of these civilisations, in superimposing itself, chose and assimilated what it considered best among the institutions of the earlier deposits. The fundamental principle of Grecian civilisation was the cult of purity of race as an instrument of physical and intellectual superiority ; to this the West owes all that it can claim of originality in philosophy, literature, and art. To Roman civilisation the West owes the spirit of legality and municipal association under a common code of laws supported by the discipline of a common military system. To Teutonic civilisation the West owes the spirit of liberty—the liberty that allows the individual to be master of himself, his actions, and his fate, so long as he does not interfere with the liberty of others. Each of the earlier civilisations had established and sought to maintain itself by concentration of power and the liberty to exercise it in the hands of a small privileged class. In each the policy of the included class offered to the excluded masses the alternative of extermination or servitude. The policy of Greece was expressed by their poet Euripides at a period of the short-lived empire of Athens, when the area of recognised purity of descent and the privileges of citizenship were practically limited to a few thousand residents within a radius of a few miles from the Acropolis :—

“ βαρβάρων δ’ Ἑλλήνας ἄρχειν εἰκός, ἀλλ’ οὐ βαρβάρους,
μήτερ, Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλον οἱ δ’ ἐλεύθεροι,”

freely interpreted, “ It is fit that Greeks should govern the inferior races, but not that inferior races should govern Greeks—for they are slaves and we are free.”

The alternative of extermination was exhibited when after the revolt of Lesbos, an Æolian colony, in spirit more Athenian than the Athenians, sentence of death was passed on the whole male population, though revised for reasons of expediency.

The policy of Rome was expressed by Virgil in the famous lines—

“Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos,”

interpreted, in practice, “Make slaves of all who submit, and exterminate all who resist.” In pursuance of this policy, while the fiction of citizenship was being constantly extended, the privileges of citizenship were being constantly restricted, until the destinies and fortunes of millions fell under the absolute command of a few thousands concentrated in the capital. Concentration so compact, power so colossal, monopoly so exclusive, luxury so frantic, the world had never seen. Meanwhile the provinces were ruined by a system of tribute expressly designed to cripple their resources and their power of resistance. What the tribute left became the easy plunder of corrupt governors, rapacious officials, commercial adventurers, and usurers associated in the disastrous system which entrusted administration and commercial exploitation to the same hands. The alternative to submission was declared in the historic phrase attributed to a British chieftain: “*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.*”

The revolt of the inferior races grouped as Northern barbarians, and the assertion by the Teutonic race of the principle of liberty—that government by an alien power is no government at all—was followed by the fall of the Roman Empire in the West and the disintegration of its constituent parts. The period of chaos known as the Middle Ages witnessed a resettlement of Europe by a process of distribution into separate and independent principalities, united by geographical and political affinity and governed by leaders who owed their elevation to the elective principle of choice by their fellow-warriors. It was during this chaos, justly called the seed-time of the modern world, that Christianity and civilisation became interchangeable terms in Europe, and in the expansion of Europe which resulted from the discovery of America and the over-sea route to Asia. The empires of Greece and Rome had been really agglomerations of tribes. Christianity created nations by making religion a vital part of politics and making a common creed a bond of union superior to the disintegrating forces of race.

The era of Christian civilisation has been marked by two periods. In the first, the most persecuted of creeds sought to superimpose itself on the creed of its persecutors by the same methods by which races held to be most inferior had superimposed their civilisation on the civilisations they supplanted—methods in direct negation of its profession. In the second period, Christianity has accommodated its policy to its profession and reconstructed Western civilisation on the principle of amalgamation, interpreting freedom to mean liberty

of person and conscience with equality of opportunity for all under a settled government.

In respect of the ultimate issue of amalgamation by inter-marriage during this era, it is well to remember that, up to nearly the close of the eighteenth century, it remained a capital crime for a priest to celebrate marriage between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant.

This is how Guizot in an often-quoted passage has described the social, communal, national, and international relations of Western civilisation—

"Toutes formes, tous les principes d'organisation sociale y co-existent, les pouvoirs spirituel et temporel, les éléments théocratique, monarchique, aristocratique, démocratique, toutes les classes, toutes les situations sociales se mêlent, se pressent, il y a des degrés infinis dans la liberté, la richesse, l'influence."

The modern conscience demands the extension of the principles which have established this civilisation into its relations with the East.

III.

The fundamental principle of Judaism was a belief that the Jews were a chosen people appointed by God to be His instruments in working out His plan of creation, primarily within their own community and subsequently in the relation of their community to the whole non-Jewish world. Under the influence of this conception practically every event that happened to the individual or to the community, every vicissitude of personal fortune, every variation of public prosperity or adversity, in health or disease, in abundant harvests or famines, was explained as a direct supernatural judgment and award, not as a consequence of natural laws. Consistent with this conviction was their conception of a future state. It embraced no idea of the resurrection of the individual in a divided spiritual form in another world. It meant the continuation of the community in a constantly multiplied posterity which was in time to people the world and make it the area of a civilisation of which they should have the exclusive monopoly. The means by which this end was to be attained was a policy summarised in the command of the Lord of Hosts transmitted to Saul through the prophet Samuel: "Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have and spare them not; but slay both men and women, infant and suckling, camel and ass." It was, in short, a policy of extermination, but it was of the very essence of the policy that in proportion as it enlarged the area of its activity it demanded an augmentation of its agents. To meet this the natural increase of heredity multiplied by polygamy and concubinage had to be further fortified by the adoption of prisoners of war, male and female, into the community under

conditions of servitude. Under the operation of the cosmic law of action and reaction the policy was adopted in retaliation by every community with which it came in conflict and menaced with destruction or servitude. To quote the words of an illustrious member of their race—

“The attempt to extirpate them has been made under the most favourable auspices and on the largest scale ; the most considerable means that man could command have been pertinaciously applied to this object for the longest period of recorded time. Egyptian Pharaohs, Assyrian Kings, Roman Emperors, Scandinavian Crusaders, Gothic Princes and holy inquisitors have alike devoted their energies to the fulfilment of this common purpose. Expatriation, exile, captivity, confiscation, torture on the most ingenious and massacres on the most extensive scale, a curious system of degrading customs and debasing laws which would have broken the heart of any other people, have been tried in vain.”

The exigencies of space make it impossible to trace the process of the modern conscience in substituting for this policy of extermination, expulsion, and debasement a policy of amalgamation. Within the whole area of Western civilisation, except in Russia and Roumania, the Jews enjoy full civil and political rights, and there is no country in which they are not recognised among the foremost representatives of art, learning, and science. In social life they enjoy the favour of Courts, and their alliance in marriage is sought by Christian families who within the last century would have considered such an alliance a social crime of capital magnitude. The most persecuted of races has now, through its dominant control over finance, acquired a practical ascendancy over the press of Europe, and, through these combined agencies, a large measure of control over the ultimate issue of peace or war. Most wonderful, perhaps, of all, in the issue of war a Jew has by common consent of the civilised world been chosen as President of the International Red Cross Society.

IV.

The elements of conflict in Western civilisation, and between Western civilisation and Judaism, have been race and creed. The conflict between Western civilisation and the ethnologic groups that have now to be considered is exasperated by an additional element, the conflict of colour. The question that concerns us is whether the modern conscience, which, in the relations between white races divided by differences of race and creed has substituted a constructive policy of amalgamation for a policy of extermination or servitude, is to prolong its activity into territories where social groups are divided by differences of race, creed, and colour, or whether in such territories the policy of an earlier conscience is to be revived. I deal first with the evolution of the modern conscience in relation to the coloured races of India. In prehistoric times, the autochthonous races of India

were displaced by a Dravidian population, which, in turn, at a period nearly coincident with the earliest records of history, was crowded out or subjugated and assimilated by an Aryan invasion of Hindus from Central Asia. Under the dominion of Hinduism there was established a political system of three estates, a sacerdotal caste of priests and lawgivers, a military caste, and a civil population engaged in industry and commerce. Its strength lay in the co-operation of the spiritual and intellectual forces of priests and lawgivers with the physical force of the military, its weakness in the revolt of the civil population against the tyranny thus generated. In time this revolt led to the establishment of Buddhism, a system standing in much the same relation to Hinduism as Protestantism to Roman Catholicism. After a thousand years of domination Buddhism had to make way for a reformed system of Hinduism modified by the influences that had established Buddhism. The new system maintained itself for about five hundred years—a period of extraordinary social splendour and distinction in the arts of civilisation, for it concentrated the results of a succession of civilisations superimposed by races who in religion and law, in language and literature, in art and science, were the originators of conceptions which have been transubstantiated into the life of Western civilisation. The period closed, in accordance with the universal law that has controlled the evolution of empires, when all the arts of civilisation were made contributory to the luxury and lust of a restricted governing class at the cost of the governed. In the general demoralisation that followed, Central Asia supplied the forces of a fresh invasion, and substituted for the Hindu system of a sacerdotal and military supremacy the Mohammedan system of despotic power exercised by a democracy under the influence of religious enthusiasm, swayed by self-appointed rulers who claimed civil and military obedience as the agents and oracles of God. In turn the Mohammedan dominion was terminated by the revolt of the Mahrattas, a political body organised, in adaptation of the Mohammedan system, by a coalition of the highest and the lowest Hindu castes. They failed to establish a settled government of adequate power to control the disintegrating forces latent in the surviving elements of a succession of conquered dynasties and peoples. The consequence was a chaos analogous to the segregation of State units in Europe following the fall of the Roman Empire. India became the loot of princes and powers, supported by Pindarries and other organised bandits always ready to play the part of the *condottieri* of mediæval Europe. It was during this period of struggle for the fragments of the broken empire, when every province was disturbed by petty wars or groaning under the oppression of chieftains pursuing their separate schemes of rapine,

that Europe was brought into contact with India by the sea-route, and at once determined, by an aggressive policy of conquest and subjugation, to superimpose a new civilisation and appropriate the rich accumulations of the old. It does not lie within my purpose to trace the defeat of this enterprise by the East India Company, or to follow the steps by which an association of private traders became involved in political complications, and eventually the dominant power in India. I am concerned only with the evolution of the modern conscience, which in the exercise of that power substituted for a policy of extermination or servitude a policy of amalgamation.

Pitt's Act of 1784 marked the first stage of the new system by a declaration that schemes of conquest were repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the British nation, and by provisions designed to save the interests of India from being made subservient to the interests of political parties in England, or to the private interests of the Company's agents and servants. In 1813 a resolution that the first duty of Parliament in legislating for India was to promote its interests was proposed and lost. Nevertheless, the policy of the administration in India was rapidly brought to conform to the principles of this resolution. It was concentrated in the Government of India Act, 1833, and set out in an explanatory despatch of the Board of Directors, accompanying the Act. It consisted in respecting the beliefs of others without weakness, and defending them without brutality. It virtually established a protectorate, a relationship which was to develop into an internationally recognised system and to play an important part in the relations of Western civilisation to dependent peoples. It undertook the protection of the people against foreign aggression and in the conduct of foreign affairs, while within the limits of its jurisdiction it declared that the people should be protected in the enjoyment of their religion and personal law; that the fiscal policy should be controlled by the interests of India; and that so far as consistent with its position as an umpire, whose duty it is to secure equal protection to many general interests, the Government should admit the native population to offices of trust and emolument. Its avowed purpose was to educate the conflicting elements of the population by methods which it was believed would qualify them, though probably at a remote period, for a political union to be established on the basis of personal liberty and equality of opportunity, under a settled government of their own election and responsible to themselves.

But the most resolute advocates of this policy were also the most resolute in declaring that premature efforts to accelerate

the end would not only insure the immediate downfall of British power, but would replunge the people of India into a state of greater anarchy than that from which they had been relieved. The wisdom of this reservation was soon to be justified by the Mutiny of 1857, which for a moment, but only for a moment, arrested the activity of the modern conscience. Nothing in its history is more remarkable than the rapidity with which it asserted itself in the work of reconstruction that followed.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation to the Princes and Peoples of India in 1858 established the fundamental principle of the modern conscience in the declaration that "Her Majesty sought her strength in the prosperity of her people, her security in their contentment, and her reward in their gratitude"; and the subsidiary policy in the declaration that "No native shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of these things, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Government."

I need not dwell on the measures recently taken by the Government, in the direction of giving the natives of India a larger right of admission to high posts in the administration and in the councils of the Empire. But I may just refer to a subject which will be treated in a separate paper, the extra-territorial rights of natives of India migrating under indenture into British Colonies. Underlying a variety of systems there is established the fundamental condition that they must be admitted as potential citizens.

A word remains to be said on amalgamation by intermarriage between Europeans and Indians. Such marriages are not generally favoured by either community, and at present the tendency is for each to prefer a social relation which has been justly compared to the relation of the fingers to each other and to the hand.

V.

I pass from the coloured races of the Caucasian group, generally classed as brown, to the coloured races of the Mongolian group, generally classed as yellow. The modern conscience had hardly declared itself in the Proclamation of 1858 to the Princes and Peoples of India, when the old aggressive barbarianism of Europe reasserted itself. Under the fiction of a beneficent partnership between commerce and religion for the civilisation of China, the Western Powers associated themselves in a policy of invasion, appropriation of territory, massacre, rape, plunder and sacrilege hardly paralleled in history. This formidable enterprise served as a warning to a kindred race in the little empire of Japan. At the time so little was the East known to the West that Professor Charles Pearson

and other accepted authorities, engaged in forecasting the future of the coloured races in cosmopolitan civilisation, failed to take Japan into account. In 1863 the British Minister, in a report on the condition of Japan, showed that under a system of self-government originated and administered by native enterprise, shut out from all intercourse with the rest of the world, the Japanese had secured peace, order, and the material prosperity of a population estimated at some thirty millions of souls. But the object-lesson exhibited in China warned them to anticipate the aggressive expansion of Western civilisation. They determined, therefore, to adapt their own ancient civilisation to modern circumstances. They recognised that the secret of Western expansion was to be sought neither in a monopoly of intellectual capacity inherent in a race, nor in a monopoly of moral capacity inherent in a creed. They found it in an acquired monopoly of capacity in the application of science to industrial uses, in the development of natural resources by scientific methods, in the appropriation of the profits of development to naval and military armaments for the defence of territory already acquired by conquest, the constant expansion of the area of acquisition, and a monopoly of all sea-borne commerce by sea supremacy. In 1868 the imperial oath of accession was revised in the formula known as the Oath of the Five Articles. After a vow to establish the principles of constitutional government, it gave a pledge that knowledge would be sought throughout the whole world so that the welfare of the empire might be established.

Within forty years the issue of the war between Japan and Russia in 1904-5 had given proof of a complete mastery of Western methods in every area of activity, and gained Japan admittance to equality of rank with the greatest of the Great Powers of Western civilisation. Politically, the theory of a monopoly of capacity inherent in a trinity of race, creed, and colour peculiar to the West was destroyed. The moral confidence and self-respect which had stimulated aspirations for self-government in every community of the East within the sphere of Western government, protection, or influence were confirmed and quickened. The economic results were even more far-reaching. The capacity of the East to organise industry in the development of local resources, and to retain for local uses the profits of production, manufacture, and distribution by land and sea, and thus to enter into commercial competition with the West, was revealed. And no time has been lost in demonstrating the extent to which this competition is likely to contribute to the wealth and independence of the East at the cost of the West.

A result of the war of 1904-5 is worthy of special mention from

the point of view of the process of the modern conscience in the East as well as in the West. An official report on the organisation and resources of the Red Cross Society of Japan has been published and circulated among the branches of the Society in Great Britain as a model scheme superior to any that has yet been organised in the West.

I will add only a word on the subject of amalgamation by intermarriage between Europeans and the races of the Mongolian group. In Asia such marriages are not more favoured than marriages between the European and Indian communities. In America it is different. The evolution of the modern conscience in the relations between Europeans and the American races of the Mongolian group of distinctive colour, generally designated as red, has been of particular interest. On no races have the policies of extinction and servitude been practised with more relentless severity. But while these policies have resulted in the practical extermination of the race in North America, as an efficient factor in civilisation, in all the more tropical parts of Latin America the autochthonous races representing the survival of the fittest are steadily assimilating the descendants of their conquerors and producing a new type—a type admirably endowed with the qualities which constitute a capacity for self-government in the conditions of its environment.

VI.

I pass to the function of the modern conscience in the treatment of the negro. The negro has been a slave in Africa and Asia from the earliest period of recorded time; in Europe and America from the close of the fifteenth century, when the discovery of a sea route to the East first brought Western civilisation into contact with him on the coasts of Africa and led to his compulsory migration to America. From the outset the methods of barbarism applied to the Jews were resorted to, not with a view to his extermination, but to ensure the perpetuity of his servitude. Conscience and instinct combined for the fulfilment of this common purpose. The ingenuity of physical torture which subjected the manhood and womanhood of his race to the passions of greed, cruelty, and lust was supplemented by moral torture of even superior ingenuity. For him religion was limited to the doctrine that he must rely on submission to a life of torment without hope on earth as the only hope of salvation from an eternity of torment in hell.

When after three hundred years the modern conscience bethought itself to bring the negro within the area of activity of the ethical process of humanity that had reconstructed Western civilisation on a basis of liberty, two things were made clear—the strength of his

racial vitality and the arrest of his intellectual development by disuse. Through all the history of his race he had been excluded from every influence which in the course of thousands of years had contributed to give the faculty of conscience of the white man mastery over his instincts. Every manifestation of the existence of such a faculty in the negro had been repressed with merciless severity. And now the modern conscience is confronted with the declaration, on the part of those who resist it, that in the negro no such faculty exists, and that in its absence he is organically disqualified from admission to the rivalry of life in competition with races of the Caucasian type on a footing of equality of opportunity.

The reply of the modern conscience is an appeal to the experience of the brief period that has elapsed since the negro has ceased to be a slave, in the sense of being a chattel by legislative enactment. It is admitted that, when the French Revolution restored the rights of humanity to the white man and to the negro, both adopted the same methods of revenge. But the faculty of conscience latent by disuse revealed itself when the Government of the United States declared his liberation, in a manner to which Western civilisation can hardly supply a parallel. When the Southern planters were fighting for the enslavement of the negro race, they went off to the war entrusting their wives and children to the protection of their slaves. Not an outrage occurred, scarcely a case of theft or breach of trust. A thousand torches, it has been said, would have disbanded the Southern Army—there was not one. Since the emancipation that followed the civil war the coloured population have devoted themselves to redeem the consequences of arrested development by methods expressed in the formula "being worked means degradation, working means civilisation." In the Tuskegee Industrial University they have established an institution which has sent out many thousands of graduates instructed in the application of scientific methods to every branch of human industry, while the authorities are able to declare that they cannot find a dozen not usefully employed, nor one ever convicted of crime. Animated by this spirit, in less than half a century the coloured population of some ten millions, starting from a depth of poverty and ignorance never perhaps reached in the history of any people, and encountering at every step the most formidable opposition that the forces of avarice, jealousy, hate, and fear have been able to command, have acquired ownership in land to the extent of some 30,000 square miles, more than the combined area of the States of Belgium and Holland, and moveable property estimated by hundreds of millions. At the same time they have achieved distinction not only in industry and commerce, but in the learned professions and in the free enterprises of art, literature, and journalism.

These results are a remarkable proof of capacity of assimilation to social environment, as well as of capacity of competition on a footing of equality of opportunity.

The whole area of British tropical colonies into which a negro population has been introduced by compulsory migration in conditions of servitude exhibits the same results. And these colonies supply data for a much more reliable estimate of the future possibilities of amalgamation by intermarriage than any supplied by the United States of America. They show the steady development of a process which is reducing the populations of pure European and pure African descent, and substituting for them a new type, analogous to the type produced in the tropical parts of Latin America by assimilation of the white and so-called red autochthonous races, and like that type remarkably endowed with the qualities that constitute a capacity for self-government in the conditions of its environment.

Turning, however, to the country of origin of the negro races in Africa, we find the modern conscience still engaged in a formidable conflict with the ancient conscience and its policy. In 1842 the modern conscience declared itself in a Proclamation of Queen Victoria which gave a political constitution to Natal on the express condition that "there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction of persons or disqualification of colour, origin, language, or creed; but the protection of the law in letter and in substance shall be extended to all alike." In 1858 the old conscience declared itself in the Grondwet (fundamental law) of the South African Republic, which asserted that "the people will suffer no equality of white and blacks either in State or in Church." In 1898 the British Empire went to war in defence of the modern conscience, and justified it at the cost of many lives and many millions of treasure. In 1908 the Imperial Parliament by the Union of South Africa Act abandoned it.

This result has determined the condition of conflict between the ancient conscience and the modern in three areas of Africa. Within the Union of South Africa the methods of the old conscience are modified by the influence of the modern. This was made sufficiently clear in a statement by a leading representative of the Union. "The ideal of making South Africa a white man's country can only be accomplished by a general displacement of the natives through a large employment of whites. The whites must rule, but if the natives were educated and enfranchised, that would mean the replacement of the whites by natives." Outside of the Union, within the area of the Congo, the old conscience continued to assert its ascendancy by the old methods until it roused the modern

conscience to revolt. The conflict is still being waged. Within the vast areas of equatorial Africa contained by the limits of the Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates, the modern conscience expressed in the terms of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1842 absolutely controls the policy of government and administration.

Attention is at present directed to a race of the Oceanic division of the Æthiopic group, of which little account has hitherto been taken. The Papuans have proved the strength of their racial vitality in surviving the methods of a policy which has nearly exterminated allied branches of their race in Australia. With their racial vitality they have preserved the instincts of savagery in an unwritten code, which does not recognise murder as a crime, but sometimes as a duty, sometimes as a necessary part of social etiquette, occasionally as a manly form of relaxation and sport. The treatment of the Papuans under a judicial system administered in the spirit of the modern conscience is one of the most remarkable experiments of the century.

VII.

In conclusion it is submitted that in the treatment of dependent peoples and communities the modern conscience rejects as a fallacy the claim of Western civilisation to a monopoly of the capacity of self-government based on an indivisible interrelation between European descent, Christianity, and the so-called white colour. It recognises that while this interrelation has evolved a capacity for self-government in an appropriate environment, a similar capacity has been evolved by an interrelation of other races, creeds and colours appropriate to other environments. It maintains, therefore, that the conflict between West and East must be adjusted on the same principle that has adjusted the conflicts of race and creed in the West, the principle of freedom interpreted as liberty of person and conscience and equality of opportunity for all, without distinction of race, creed, or colour, under a settled government.

History, reason, and recent experience in Japan warn us that the adjustment must be made not in the spirit of the popular refrain, "East is East and West is West", but in the spirit of a nobler poetic formula—

"God's is the Occident,
God's is the Orient."

This is the spirit of the modern conscience in the treatment of dependent peoples and communities.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE GOVERNMENT OF COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

By Sir SYDNEY OLIVIER, K.C.M.G.,
Governor of Jamaica.

EVERY nation having colonies or external dependencies acquires and holds them for the sake of benefits to its own citizens, whether as settlers, traders or investors of capital in those territories, and in so far as the sovereign nation orders the government of its colonies and dependencies, the dominant guiding factor in its policy will be the promotion of those ends. The policy of the Government in regard to native races is secondary and subsidiary. The exceptions to this rule are extremely few and such as must be considered to have been in the nature of accidents in the history of colonisation.

The methods of administration adopted vary, being prescribed by the special circumstances of the colony or dependency. Where this is practically a self-governing nation, as in the case of the greater colonies of the British Empire—Canada, the Australian Commonwealth, and the Union of Africa—the mother country scarcely exhibits any policy at all in regard to its government, beyond doing the best it can to prevent its own trade with and investments in that colony being placed at a disadvantage as compared with those of other nations. Where the colony or dependency is at the other end of the scale, and is the habitat of an uncivilised nation or aggregate of alien races, the government established and maintained by the sovereign nation is more positive in its methods and more deliberately adjusted with regard to its effect on the lives and habits of the native people.

In relation to such uncivilised colonies and dependencies, and in relation also to those civilised and self-governing colonies and dependencies in which there survives an uncivilised population of alien race, the methods of government are directed and influenced not merely by considerations of the commercial benefit of the colonists or citizens of the sovereign nation, but also by considerations of philanthropy and humanity, and to a certain extent by the influence of a missionary purpose aiming at imposing upon the uncivilised and alien native what is reputed within the sovereign nation to be a morality, a religion, and a social order superior to those which he has himself evolved. The desire to benefit and enlighten barbarous peoples has not, indeed, served as a sufficient incentive for the establishment of sovereignty over colonies or dependencies. The

efficient cause is always economic interest or Imperial pride ; but as soon as these have brought about annexation or settlement other motives and influences, expressing the uncommercial will of the colonising nation, elements of the craving for the gratification of the reforming impulse and the compunction of the humanitarian conscience, come also into play. The history of the British conquest and the theory of British rule in India may be studied for illustration.

Owing to the fact that the colonies and dependencies of the colonising nations form a graduated series, ranging from the practically independent democratic community of civilised people to the uncivilised tract inhabited by barbarous tribes whose country is opened up and held merely for mining or the protection of trade routes, and as a means for the investment of capital, it is impossible to offer any generalisation that shall apply equally and accurately to the government of all colonies and dependencies in regard to the treatment of native races in those possessions.

Moreover, between the self-governing colony and the African territory or protectorate there intervenes the case of older colonies, such as (among the British Dominions) the West Indies, Mauritius, and others in which there is no aboriginal race conducting its own life and its own customs, but a large population of alien race, and sometimes of various alien races, African or Asiatic, who have come there as slaves or labourers for hire, and who form a transplanted proletariat moulded into the economic and social forms of European civilisation and vastly outnumbering the small organising class of colonists whose race, religion, and industrial will is identical with those of the European mother country.

In the British Colonial Office List there are enumerated, outside of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand (with whose native policy the mother country has long ceased to concern herself), some twenty colonies and dependencies peopled by native races not introduced as slaves or labourers, and maintaining in a greater or less degree the institutions of their own peculiar civilisations. The relation between the governing race and the governed in these communities exhibits a most intricate variety, differing according to the periods at which they were settled, and the particular purposes and methods for which they were settled; namely, whether for colonisation by planting settlers from the mother country, or for mining enterprise, or for commerce only, or with the aim of excluding rival nations from monopolising a possible future market, or in order to suppress the raids and disorders of the savage tribes which occupy them upon the more settled districts adjoining; or, as has occurred in a very few cases before the white man had lost his glamour, by the voluntary invitation or acceptance of the

sovereignty of the annexing nation by the native peoples for their own protection and out of appreciation of its superior institution and civilisation.

Turning to the older group of slave-settled colonies, we again find in the British Colonial Office List nearly as many of these, all of which, to those familiar with them, present appreciable differences in the adjustment of their government to the circumstances offered by the existence in them of a black and coloured proletariat under the control of White Power.

The most difficult and controversial questions in regard to the government of African or Asiatic races under European sovereignty may be said to have risen and to persist in the British Empire, notably in India and in the South African group of colonies. I cannot reasonably nor without immodesty attempt to deal with the case of India in this paper. It is probably in South Africa that there have been developed the greatest conflicts of opinion, as between the efficient class of colonists in those lands and the mother country in regard to the principle on which the native races should be dealt with. These controversies tend to be disposed of as the colonies increase in wealth, importance, and power by the elimination of the control, opinions, and influence of the mother country, so that in them the question of the government of native races tends to pass out of the sphere of the topic of this paper, which is that of the government of colonies and dependencies by a sovereign nation, and to become a domestic problem of government which might more accurately be styled the question of internal government in a community of mixed races and semi-civilised nations. But in regard to the other large group of colonies, namely, the slave-settled colonies and the colonies which have not yet produced and established their own independent governments, some generalisation is possible as to the prevalent aims of the sovereign nation in government. It must suffice for me to attempt to review these principles as they appear in the government of British Colonies and Dependencies, with regard to which alone I can presume to speak with sufficient information.

In the slave-settled colonies, that is to say, the West Indian colonies, Mauritius, and the Seychelles, there survives practically no vestige of the social and judicial institutions or of the religious organisation of the transplanted alien race. The Law, the Courts, and the Churches are European. There is no distinction of persons before the Civil Law. The transplanted proletariat, mostly of African race or African descent, is regarded as being in semi-tutelage and as not fully qualified for the exercise of responsible self-government in democratic institutions. The ultimate guarantee for order in these communities rests with the mother country, and, with hardly any

exception, legislative authority remains as a last resort under the control of the representative of that Power in the Executive Government. There are one or two apparent exceptions to this generalisation in some of the older colonies that preserve their original constitutions; but the exception is hardly a real one, because the government and control of these communities, although ostensibly democratic, really remains in the hands of the white section of the community or of those who have imbued themselves with the civilisation and ideals of the sovereign nation.

The principle on which the government in relation to the less advanced race is based, is to aim at an education and evolution in European civilisation and political methods. This education is sought to be obtained by the maintenance of the common law of the mother country, guaranteed by a high standard of purity in the judicial administration, by the steady extension of provision for elementary and more advanced education, both literary and practical, and by the privilege and responsibility of the exercise of political franchise in the election of members of the legislative council and of municipal governing bodies. In the colonies controlled by the Government of the sovereign nation, as distinct from the self-governing colonies, no special civil disability is imposed in any respect upon the citizen of whatever race he may be; all subjects have the same privileges and are under the same limitations. The limitations are exclusively political, and are based upon recognition and experience of the imperfect political capacities of the transplanted race, retaining just such a measure of political power to the representative of the sovereign nation (as the embodiment of the spirit of the governing race) as is sufficient to maintain stability in the progressive social order; and the explicit theory of all these communities is that such political limitations are provisional and are subject to relaxation in so far as the community progresses towards greater capacity for self-government.

With regard to the other great division of colonies inhabited by native races, in reference to which it may be said that the mother country has a policy of governing such races, the aim of the modern method is markedly different.

Most of these dependencies have been acquired and their government organised for the purpose of trade, and not with a view to the European colonists themselves becoming workers or employers of labour in agriculture. Nor has the colonising country imported or created the population, as it has in the older colonies. The colonists come there to preserve their economic interests in such manner as may involve them in the least possible complications with the natives. Where they live, as in seacoast settlements and towns, in close con-

tact with the natives, they are bound for the sake of their own convenience and health to interfere to a certain extent with the native customs and manners of life, and, for example, to establish municipal governments for sanitary purposes with more or less administrative control vested in the hands of the governing power. But beyond this there is less and less disposition to interfere with the native life and activity, and more and more to confine the energy of government to the departments of military and police protection, to the improvement of roads and other means of communication, and to the education of technical capacity. There is less and less tendency to regard the colonising country as being under any religious obligation to interfere with polygamy, or other such native customs repugnant to British standards of civilisation and morality, and there is more and more a tendency to maintain and reinforce the authority of the local institutions of Government and Justice.

Instead of introducing and proclaiming British law as paramount in these territories and compelling all the inhabitants to conform to that law and to sue for redress in its courts, the principle now generally approved and pursued is that, whilst there shall be a supreme court of British Justice with branches available to all Europeans and to such natives who choose to appeal to it, the natives, in matters concerning themselves and their fellows generally, shall retain the right to be tried by their own native courts, the administration of justice in these courts being regulated and purified by the countenance and authority of the Supreme Government. Much is left to the chiefs, but the chief is under the guidance and control of a magistrate or commissioner representing the Government, whose duty it is to take care that the chief does not exceed his authority or oppress his tribesmen by an abuse of the processes of native law. The enormous territories controlled by Great Britain in West, East, and Central Africa are all of them now being governed more or less in accordance with these principles.

The most important matter in regard to which the British Government actively interferes with the native economy is in regard to the institution of slavery, which it does not recognise and which it insists upon abolishing. But apart from this, it may be said that the principal aim of British government in these territories is to strengthen and stimulate the characteristic native life of the people, whilst at the same time creating in them a desire for commodities which can be produced by the mother country, and improving their efficiency in the growth and preparation of those products, such as oils, grains, cotton, and other commodities, which the colonising country desires as raw materials for its factories. These territories, not being suited to Europeans for

personal settlement, will not, like some of the South African colonies, become homes for a large white population engaged in agriculture. The demand for native labour for direct employment at wages by such a class of white settlers—the circumstance which has so profoundly affected the relations of the races in South Africa—is not likely to arise in any marked degree in these territories, although it may possibly do so in some of those districts in East-Central Africa which are found useful for European colonisation. It is when the difficulties of labour supply become pressing that questions of land settlement and native privileges tend also to become urgent. When these difficulties arise, the more easy-going, non-interventionist policy which is convenient for the wide territories of the later annexations and protectorates tends to become obsolete, and a more frankly self-interested policy is acknowledged and put into execution.

As I have indicated, the problem then tends to pass from being that of the government by a sovereign European nation of dependencies peopled by other races—in which phase the aim of government is simply, as a rule, to promote facilities of commerce which can best be effected by stimulating the vigour and self-conscious activity of the native community—to being the problem of the internal government of a state in which both European and other races are fellow-citizens; and when that phase is reached, the policy of government must necessarily become rather that of developing the existence of a state suitable for the social life of a civilised European community. In such circumstances we almost invariably see the same principles of government tending to be introduced as are established in the older slave-settled colonies, namely, a supersession of native institutions and customs accompanied by a practical denial of equal political capacity in the non-European race, and the adoption of a policy of tutelage and education in regard to it before admitting it to complete political franchise. These safeguards against political incapacity in an ostensibly democratic State are provided by a considerable variety of expedients.

Further, in such a community it is hardly possible to avoid the evolution of an industrial policy tending to impose the European standard of industry and energy upon the non-white population, because, whereas the requirements of an aboriginal population can be met without a large production of surplus value in industry, the requirements of a civilised state cannot be so met. The following illustration may suffice to indicate what I mean. The uncivilised native community will produce sufficient food, clothing, and housing to meet the requirements of its own social system,

but when it is sought to provide it with clothes, boots, soap, churches, schools, police, law-courts, European medicine and surgery, and all those higher instruments of civilisation which require professional classes who must be highly paid in money and who do not form a native part of the general organisation which is producing the requirements of the merely nutritive life, surplus value must be produced by the proletariat, both for their own direct payments for those services and for the payment of taxes to the government which supplies them through its institutions. This necessity is the more marked because, whereas in the old civilised nations the classes who supply these utilities have been gradually evolved during centuries of national life, and the root system of their economic support has grown with the rest of the social organism in the attempt to force an educational development of native races up to the European standard in a mixed colony, they generally have to be introduced by the government, whether in response to the desires of the colonists themselves or to the demands of humanitarianism and philanthropic forces in the sovereign nation; so that these communities are required to pass immediately from a system of no education to a system of state education, from a system of customary courts judged by the chiefs to a system of paid judges, lawyers, registrars, documents, processes, and stamps, from a system of witchcraft and simples in medicine to a government medical service with hospitals, nurses, surgical instruments, and the British pharmacopœia. It is the same with all the institutions of the State which the European himself requires and which, in a mixed community, he either deems desirable or is impelled by philanthropy or religion to provide for the less advanced race. This community has not evolved an organic economic support for them because as a whole it has not learned to demand them. The State, or Government, is therefore called upon to provide these out of taxation. The sovereign nation may subsidise the dependency for a time by grants from its exchequer, but it soon wearies of this philanthropic exercise.

For all these services, then, the produce of the country has to pay, and it cannot provide the means without either a greater intensification of individual labour, or the improvement of its productiveness by capitalist organisation, or the development of an export trade whereby to induce an influx of imports on which customs duties can be levied. So that it comes to pass that the more philanthropic and humanitarian is the spirit of the aims of the European in the government of these mixed communities, the more is it necessary in order to pursue those aims that an internal

policy should be adopted which will stimulate the industry and increase the exploitation and taxation of the native labourer. This circumstance, quite as much as any individual greed on the part of the employers of labour, lies at the root of the policy of self-governing colonies with mixed communities with regard to land and industry. If the native populations are to be civilised, they must produce enough to maintain the institutions of civilisation. It is a very difficult thing for the Government of any tropical colony to raise by internal tribute (direct taxation) enough means to provide for the maintenance of the institutions which its civilised aims demand; hence the constant tendency to endeavour to stimulate trade so that its revenue may be raised indirectly by taxes on that trade, which taxes the native does not feel as onerous and can hardly attempt to evade. Direct taxation in any form he detests, and evades if possible by the most extravagant shifts.

The difficulty is less strongly felt in those older slave-settled colonies to which I have referred than it is in the newer colonies of mixed races that are developing their own government; because those older colonies were built up as trading colonies specially supplying tropical produce to the mother country, and their population was imported to produce staples for export, so that in the time of their greater prosperity they were able out of the profits of that trade to establish to a considerable extent the institutions of civilised communities demanded by their European settlers, and, as a matter of fact, the employing class has retained under its control the greater part of the land from which internal revenue can be raised. In the invitation which was addressed to me to write this short paper, I was asked to offer suggestions of how dependencies of mixed races *should* be governed. I fear that the expression of any general opinion of this kind would, in view of the great diversity of the circumstances of these communities of which I have given some indication, be a very futile attempt. And my postulate of what is desirable would doubtless appear individual and arbitrary. Every colony has its own opinion on such points, and its opinion may differ from that of the sovereign nation.

Such dependencies can only be governed as Europeans would like to see them governed when the native races that inhabit them have become what Europeans would like to see them be and what they are not now. And that is the whole difficulty of the situation for those who are practically engaged in the problems of colonial government.

I have personally a very strong opinion that whatever may be the case with Asiatics, African peoples generally are not at

all suited by temperament or talent for that kind of industrial position as wage-workers under capital into which the proletariats of industrial European countries have come, nor does it appear to me at all desirable that they should, if they can avoid it, pass into that position or acquire in all respects the characteristics of the European wage-worker; but under present circumstances it appears that their powers of production cannot be quickly increased except under organised education by employers of the advanced or industrial race.

Outside of this, the only method for assisting them to maintain those services which they are being more and more taught to require, is a very considerable personal education in agricultural and technical skill. But this education can only be obtained by an industry and application upon their part which it is very difficult to induce them voluntarily to undertake. Under the European apprenticeship system, craftsmen learned their trades as youths under the very severe dominion of a skilled master who controlled and, if necessary, beat them. I do not know of any means except compulsion of this sort or stress of want to induce the steady industry that is required for thoroughly learning a trade in competition with the great counter-attractions of indolence and sensuality that are continually pressing upon the youth of all tropical populations.

The European wage-worker is not so free as the tropical native; but he is competent because he is trained and disciplined. Unless the natives of tropical countries will voluntarily undergo industrial training and discipline, the requirements of a civilised state cannot be maintained among them except by such pressure of industrial necessity as has been evolved in civilised European countries, or by forced labour imposed by the State. Wherever the native has unrestricted access to land, and is in other respects free from economic compulsion, all that a progressive government imposed from without can do is to offer him and coax him to take advantage of the opportunities of agricultural and technical education, and strive by every possible means to stimulate and train his intelligence to perceive their advantages.

This is, in fact, the principal aim of modern progressive statesmanship in all colonies and dependencies inhabited by a mixture of races. Whether the social, industrial, and religious ideals of those nations that are pursuing this aim are really destined to prove suitable to the best development of the races to whose moulding they are being applied, the future alone can disclose.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE INFLUENCE OF MISSIONS

By ALFRED CALDECOTT, D.D. (*Cambridge*), D.Litt. (*London*),
Professor of Moral Philosophy, King's College, University of London.

IN another paper Professor Rhys Davids is considering the influence of Religion generally as a consolidating and separating influence: my task is to call attention to some features of Religious Missionary enterprise in this respect.

For a Religion to be propagandist the first condition is that it must believe in the fundamental unity of mankind. A Religion which admits raciality as an article of its creed confines itself within the limits of the specified race. In some Religions raciality is, even if not manifest on the surface, at least so strong an undercurrent that they have no propagandist force: of living Religions I take it that this is the case at present with Judaism, which maintains no propaganda but for any expansion trusts simply to diffusion by contact. Hinduism contains many forms so much localised as to be untransferable, and even the fundamental tenets of Brahmanism are so bound up with raciality that the diffusion which is actually in process does not look beyond the boundaries of the Indian peninsula. In China the triplex system established by the State is not conceived as transferable either as a whole or in its parts, and a parallel statement is true of Japan. Expansion movement in Religions has been for some time past, and is at the present moment, limited to Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

Buddhism in its fundamentals is free from racial limitations, and its history has shown diffusion from race to race on a large scale. Islam though closely associated with its Founder and his race at once went forth with open invitation, and though never successful in Europe had great successes elsewhere, and in Africa it is expanding its range before our eyes. Christianity was in the first generation seen to be universalistic, and though its dominance was transferred from Asia into Europe, and later on it had to retreat before Islam in West Asia and North Africa, it felt this as a reproach, and in the Crusades made a protest, futile though it proved to be. At the reopening of Asia after 1492 and the discovery of the New World, Christianity resumed its world-wide prospect.

I suggest, therefore, that at a gathering of the Races of the world we do well to note that the three propagandist Religions are now definitely and explicitly dissociated from race-privileges, and to proceed to hope that those religions which are still closely attached to race-limitations will, when brought into mutual conference, be affected by the sentiment of unity, and consider seriously for them-

selves the possibility of a new valuation of their separate features.

Of the multitudinous forms of religion among the races of lower culture the connection with raciality in its minute subdivisions has been too close to permit of their dissociation, and the notion of propaganda does not come into sight.

A. (a) In studying Religious propaganda I can only select some principal features: I will take first, *The Association with Political Dominion*. A religion may be so deeply ingrained in a Political system that wherever that polity is extended that religion is carried with it without a moment of questioning on the part either of the Nation which is extending or of the people who are subjugated, whether these latter accept the religion of the conquerors or not. Spanish and Portuguese America entered at once formally into Christendom in the sixteenth century as clearly as North Africa passed within Islam under the Arabs and Moors in the seventh and eighth; the French colonists carried their Church into Canada as the Moslem invaders carried theirs to Delhi. But in different situations very different degrees of success attended the endeavours to bring the Native populations effectively within the newly presented religions. The simple expectations of the first days of conquest soon faded before aboriginal inability or unwillingness to accept a change, and both in the New World and the Old very limited success and very nominal kinds of "conversion" were accepted as time went on. Within the empire of Britain the religious dissensions at home gave rise to a great variety of policy in the Colonies and Plantations. The New England colonies established their own forms of Protestant Christianity; Virginia and the West Indian colonies established the Church of England as at home; and some colonies were on a toleration basis, notably Pennsylvania, founded by the Society of Friends. Official attention to the Red Indians soon ceased, and indeed was replaced over large areas by a long period of hostilities: but some voluntary missionary efforts were put forth, though not in any considerable volume. In the Southern States and in the West Indies the singular transplantation of large numbers of Negroes brought them within Christendom nominally only, as their civil status was so widely felt to be inconsistent with Christian rights that their admission was either ignored or positively refused for many years, although in the end the result has been the enrolment of not less than ten millions of people of West African descent more or less completely within the Christian churches. In India the character of the entry of British dominion was affected by its being the affair of a commercial Company, and religious propaganda was wholly separated from it.

In Australia the peculiar circumstances of the early colonisation and the total inability to appreciate what strains of promise there might be in the unquestionably low-grade Aborigines, left these in worse than neglect for many years; in New Zealand the more enlightened type of colonisation and the superior quality of the Maoris led to a close alliance of State action with Mission work, as illustrated by the memorable co-operation of Governor Grey and Bishop Selwyn. The extension of the Greek Church has been for a long time limited to the expansion of Russian dominion, which it accompanies as a matter of course in name, though in Central Asia Islam has not been officially superseded.

The extension of Islam has always included some conception of the extension of Dominion on the part of the successors of Mohammed in the Caliphate, but powerful sovereigns have arisen with not even nominal allegiance in a secular sense, near the centre, as Persia, and remote, as Morocco. But recent political changes have been so sweeping that it is estimated by good authority that of some 230 millions of Moslems 170 millions live under Christian rule or protection, and 30 millions under other non-Mohammedan rule, leaving only 30 millions under Moslem political jurisdiction.

A. (b) *The Complete Separation of Religious Propaganda from Extension of Dominion.*—This separation has always marked Buddhism. As it spread from India to Tibet, Siam, China, and Japan, it moved as a purely religious change effected by individual monks, teachers, and pilgrims; and even in India its diffusion in the times of its success was not by political means.

In Islam, as seen above, the political aspect has faded as expansion extended to remote regions: it has flowed onward as a religious system, and the deference paid to the Successor of Mohammed and the Sheik-ul-Islam now takes the form of a spiritual allegiance, though doubtless in many minds the old association lingers and might again assert itself. At present the extension over Africa is by individual missionaries and traders, and carries with it no claim for political allegiance.

For Christianity even in the days of the close association of the Roman Catholic Church with the States a non-political character was recognised when Roman Catholic missions were sent to China and Japan with no thought of interference with the political status of those countries. In the Protestant churches there soon arose a desire to extend Christianity by private enterprise, and missionary societies of a purely voluntary kind were formed. Beginning at first with the Natives of Colonies and dependencies as principal concern (e.g., the New England Company of Cromwell and the Gospel Propagation Society of Queen Anne) the close of the eighteenth

century saw the institution in Great Britain of several Societies which took the whole world into view. Similar Societies were formed in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States which were necessarily wholly devoid of political intention as they dealt entirely with the peoples of lands outside the domains of the people who supported them.

Whilst some of the Missionary Societies undertook the task of presenting Christianity to the civilised nations, India, China, Japan, with some endeavours in the lands under Islam also, it is not surprising that the greatest mass of effective work was found to be possible among the peoples of lower culture and of primitive forms of religion. In South and West Africa, Madagascar, and the Pacific Islands the romance of Missions, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, presents a chapter of permanent interest in the religious history of mankind, remarkable alike in the heroism of the messengers and in the degree of acceptance of the message. In this non-political work the Greek Church has shared by means of the Russian missions to China and Japan.

What I think this gathering of representatives of the different Races is concerned to note is that in the propaganda of religion every one now agrees that it must be by absolutely voluntary effort: that by Churches, Societies, or individuals, but not by Governments, religions may be proclaimed all over the world. Two principles may well be asked for:—

That no Government shall disturb the political situation by including in its programme the propagation of its own religion, as distinguished from its maintenance;

That no Government shall refuse to its subjects freedom to hear religious messages, or prevent them from accepting them if they so desire.

These principles express a right which may be generally accepted as lying at the root of the unification of mankind. And we may find ourselves able to consider together what cases there may still be in which these principles are obstructed. I should be extremely sorry to introduce any cause of offence, and perhaps should not offer any particular cases: but one may hope that in an atmosphere of mutual respect the representatives of these peoples may not be unwilling to state their views and to take counsel with the general assemblage. I would specify the following: the need for allowing freedom for religious missions in Spain and Russia within Christendom; in Turkey and in Persia; and in French Colonies Government neutrality as in the French Congo rather than the adverse attitude even to long-established missions which

has marked a considerable period of the *régime* in Madagascar. In some countries it is the missionaries who need the protection of the Government, in others it is the religious liberties of the people which are restricted, if not nominally, in fact. Of course, the opposition of the people themselves must be allowed for, and judiciously treated, *e.g.*, in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Morocco, where resentment and alarm enter into the popular mind. But when the people are not unwilling, Governments may be asked not to interfere, and even where the people are alarmed, Governments may well seek to reassure them, and to lead them towards respect for religious freedom. On the other hand, the Missions must be guided by limitations in the protection they ask for. In this connection I would assure the representatives of peoples who hesitate to trust to a wide liberty that for Christian missions at least the future will be most carefully watched. This very subject engaged close attention at the "World's Missionary Conference" at Edinburgh last year, which devoted a whole section of its proceedings to the relations of Missions to Governments: its decisions are marked by great considerateness, and Missionary policy is sure to be guided by them in the future so that respect for Government, loyalty, and patriotism will find every support from the missionaries of religion in whatever land they work.

B. I will take as my second theme the extent to which religious propaganda includes moral and social factors.

(a) First : *Religion as including Cultus to a Far-reaching Extent* : carrying with it science, literature, technical arts (especially medicine and engineering), methods of industry and trade, education, and even domestic life and social institutions generally.

This is, of course, the earlier condition of religions. In Hinduism, for example, it is almost impossible to distinguish between sacred and secular; and Brahmanism carries a cultus with it, though the admission of new castes usually involves the acceptance of some modifications. In Christian missions of the modern era a difference was soon perceived between missions to peoples of high civilisation and to the peoples of lower culture. A transference of European cultus to India, China, or Japan was seen to be on a very different footing from the task involved in presenting Christianity to primitive peoples. In India the mark made by the separation between religion and dominion already alluded to continued, and such reforms in moral and social institutions as were deemed indispensable were reduced within narrow limits, and even these were altogether dissociated from religious sanctions, though some of them were undoubtedly the offspring of Christian ethics. In China and Japan a standing coolness between many of the European residents and the Christian mission-

aries arose in consequence of attempts of the latter to include too much of social reconstruction in their programme.

But with the peoples of lower culture religious enterprise as a vehicle of social and ethical reforms has had a free course: it has, indeed, provided the motive power for lifting up these peoples towards civilisation. The analysis of the influence of the Christian missionary settled with an African tribe or on a Pacific island is replete with interest. Over and over again a single individual has meant "civilisation" as well as the Gospel to a whole community. From him have flowed influences regenerating every part of their social life. From one man's heart and brain have issued not only the abolition of degrading and cruel customs, but the beginnings of new industrial organisation, glimpses of science and literature, new forms of social order. And when he has been accompanied by a household a new type of domestic life has been exhibited and the family set in a new light. It is difficult to conceive that the future history of the world can ever again show example after example of social elevation on so considerable a scale: important tribes in South Africa, in the Pacific, in Madagascar, and New Zealand, among the Red Indians of the North-West and the remote Esquimaux of Greenland and Labrador, have come to a new birth. So clear has been the elevation that for many of them it has meant the entry into the single world-circle now approaching completion, though for the present in the provisional and preparatory stage of being dependencies or protectorates of European empires. Time fails for particularising as to the effects of Missionary enterprise among these peoples. From a world point of view we see how it has preserved some which were in peril of perishing as the stronger races spread over the globe carrying influences which threatened to be fatal to the weaker. Saved by the infusion of the counter-influences of religion, these peoples are now raising their heads and beginning to multiply again in the vigour of a recovered life. Too late, indeed, for some of them, as the pathetic story of disappearing and vanished races shows. But on the whole we may claim that the indigenous inhabitants whom Europe found in tropical and subtropical lands have passed through the valley of bitterness and are now entered upon the open fields, and that the chief instrument of their salvation in the hour of peril has been the sympathetic ardour of religion which moved messengers to devise and to initiate the ethical and social reformation which stands on record.

For Islam also there is a long record of peoples brought within the range of world-civilisation in recent times, over a large part of Africa especially. Important moral and social reforms have been adopted by virile communities under powerful native rulers: some of

them remain independent, others, as in the Soudan, Zanzibar, and in Malaysia, have passed under European protection while retaining their allegiance to the religion which first linked them with the world at large.

(b) *Religion as dissociated from Secular Culture.*—Religion sometimes regards itself as other-worldly, as a concern of men in their individuality, as appertaining solely to the inner life, leaving external ranges of life as it finds them, to continue or to reshape themselves as they may. And, on the other hand, secular culture can also separate itself and extend on lines independent of religion.

Buddhism essentially holds the secular life in so low esteem that it is capable of complete detachment and therefore of transfer from race to race without calling for any social changes. The Brahmanic philosophy is in like case. The present activity of both of them falls within this category: they contemplate an extension apart from criticism of social order or from aims at carrying over the world the particular culture of India or Japan.

On the other hand, much of European civilisation is now extending in separation from Christianity. Even within European dominions this is the case. In India the British Government makes no appeal to Christian authority even in the Provinces entirely under its administration, while in the 688 Native States their established religions continue unaffected. The moral and social reforms which are fostered are regarded as secular, introduced and commended apart from the sanctions of religion. The recent separation of Church and State in France imposes a purely secular policy in her Colonies and protectorates; and the absence of all official connection with religion in the United States Government places American policy in the same position.

Again, the outflow of European arts and sciences and commerce proceeds by a diffusion independent of religion. In some cases it is not only dissociated but is hostile, sending forth as counter-messages Materialism and various forms of purely Ethical and Secular culture.

Religious propaganda therefore, to a considerable extent, has to reconsider itself, and to take account of a parallel extension of culture for which it need not take responsibility, and it is therefore impelled to bring into principal attention the inner and more purely spiritual elements of its message in its missionary work.

In another way Christianity has been obliged to see in European extension not a component part of its activity but an antagonistic influence. The characters of many of the energetic individuals who for trade or for adventure first visited or settled in those distant lands were far from being Christian, to say the least: too frequently they diffused mischief and misery, and aroused hostility and terror

wherever their sinister presence made itself felt. Christianity had to be separated from Europeanism in all sadness by Las Casas, and Xavier, and by many a missionary since their day. Even when there was no ruthless depravity there was a depressing influence requiring counteraction arising from the fact that so much of the early contact of Europeans with outside peoples was based simply and solely on profit from trade. In the ordinary way this was innocuous, often beneficial; but love of gold is a bad master, and the supply of noxious and destructive instruments of indulgence was too often the most profitable line of trade; while the need of labour was frequently difficult to satisfy without exploitation of the Native peoples, with fatal results. And when lands were wanted in which the Natives were *de trop* over large areas "extermination proved easier than civilisation." It has been no small part of the Christian propaganda to counteract these noxious influences in the past. And to-day the need for such counteraction has taken effect in the tendency of Christian agencies to disclaim responsibility for Europeanism, or at any rate to the forms of it to which circumstances seem to confine its transplantation to Asia and Africa. In short, the separation has to some extent to take the form of declining to associate the Christian name with any racial or national characters whatever, and to insist on confining it to its essential usage as a religious term. Islam has had to provide parallel counteraction; it has been important in quite similar ways as a protest against the appearance of higher civilisation in the dreaded forms of the slave-raider and the pirate, and obliged to present itself in detachment from the Arab name and race.

(c) There remain the cases, between the above extremes, in which *Religious Propaganda contains some Factors of an Ethical and Social Kind* in its programme without embarking upon wholesale reforms. Which factors commend themselves as so universal in promise of beneficence that all Religions would do well to give them support?

We have seen that political Dominion must be excluded: that Religion should move onward as a force on the side of loyalty and civic duty within the Nations. In this Congress it is specially important to proceed to claim that it must pay a similar respect to Race. It must welcome the results of Anthropologists in ascertaining differential race-characters and race-capacities, and leave large freedom for the influence of these in the ethical and social systems for which Religion will contribute principles and provide sanctions. In short, the *Vocation* of Nations and of Races must be accepted. How widely this is coming into recognition was shown at the recent "Pan-Anglican Congress" in the Report on Missions, and at the "World Missionary Conference" in Edinburgh last year. The

organisation of national forms of Christianity in Japan, China, India, Africa, were acclaimed as the method of the future. "Africans are an Eastern people," said a Negro Bishop at the former Congress; there must be Chinese Christians, claimed a scholarly convert from China; and these sentiments were endorsed by the Congresses. Most careful attention was given to the discrimination of the moral and social institutions which Religion should include and those which it should leave the different nations and races to work out on their own lines. It will be an important function of this Congress to assist in the sifting of moral and social ideas with the view of assigning to them entrance into the sphere of universal commendation or remitting them to racial and local determination. I have my own opinion as to the trend which universal judgment is taking in a good many cases, but I ought not to set them down in a paper where there is no room to indicate the evidence upon which I proceed.

But I hope we may take it that all the religions which include a desire to extend their influence will be glad both to contribute counsel and to receive it in the important task of selecting the *universalia* of humane ethical and social order. I can speak as a Christian believer, and I hope that the men of other religions will join in this endeavour. Religions would then be free to enter upon mutually deferential controversy in the region of the hopes and the sanctions which they severally offer for the contents of the Faith and the manner of the Worship which they value for themselves and would commend to mankind. That there are universalistic and idealistic elements even in some Religions which make no move outward at present I feel confident, and it may be that this Congress will include among its beneficial results the determination on the part of those who belong to them to bring to light these universalistic factors, so that we may all proceed together in a common task.

In conclusion, the continuance of religious propaganda invites the sympathy of a Races Congress for these two reasons, amongst others:—

1. It is a standing witness for *Altruism* in a world which now, as ever, needs such witness. The dark shadow of political aggrandisement has indeed passed by, for the present at least; we are hoping for the suppression of plunder and exploitation of every kind. But the universal spread of commerce and industrial arts rests only upon the desires of men, as individuals or companies, for salaries and profits; and even the beneficent arts and sciences are carried round the world by men who do not profess to be motivated by anything higher than the aim to secure an honourable livelihood by their means. In religious missions alone have we purely altruistic agencies on a large scale. And especially noteworthy is this the

case in the immeasurably important sphere of Womanhood. Few women accompany the extenders of commerce or science, by the circumstances of the case, and when they go to tropical and sub-tropical regions their capacity for looking beyond their immediate circle of duty is naturally reduced to a small compass. But religious Missions have sent out a constant succession of Women as wives and daughters of missionaries, or as members of sisterhoods, who bear altruistic witness from the women of one race to the women of another.

2. Missionary propaganda is a standing appeal to *the Singleness of the Spiritual Kingdom*. It witnesses for this whether taken as a purely spiritual message or as a support to such universalising of ethical and social principles as has been indicated above. Absence of such desire to expand is a sign of acquiescence in separateness, an acceptance of the divided state of mankind and unequal participation in highest values. The religious conviction of essential unity allies itself with the philosophical conception of rational personality and with the ethical conception of fraternity. Whether or not these can stand alone is one of the pressing problems of our time. How extensively personality has been denied to the peoples of the lower culture is as clearly signified by the designation of them as "Nature-peoples" as it is by the depreciatory designations current among travellers and traders. How far fraternity can make itself good in the atmosphere of Naturalistic evolution is, at the least, dubious. Certainly the elevation of the peoples of lower culture which has so far taken place has been largely due to the unswerving reliance upon personality and fraternity inherent in the Historical Religions which have gone to work amongst them. What would take place if these Religions were to be withdrawn by ceasing from further propaganda may be differently estimated; at any rate, it is clear that they have been supports of human brotherhood in the past, and are so to-day. The extension over the world of the physical sciences as a single complex unity is assured, and needs no support; and Religions which are to extend must make their account with this. It is the same with the organisation of human industry into a single system; and this, too, is no way uncongenial to religion.

The varieties of individual character and manners, of racial idiosyncrasy, and of social and political order are brought into unity wherever religions deposit the conception of spiritual personality as a substratum underneath them: and the varieties themselves are thereafter provided with place and opportunity in a developing world. For taking part in such an endeavour to unify humanity each Historical Religion must see to it that it has possession of culture-factors universalist in range and capable of development

in their application to the differences of race and circumstance. And it must be able to show that its co-operation is needed by proving that it can impress the imagination and stimulate enthusiasm in the heart, generating and sustaining a degree of faith in the advance of men towards a unity of mankind such as cannot be attained without its aid.

[*Paper submitted in English.*]

INDENTURED AND FORCED LABOUR

By (the late) the Right Hon. Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Bart., *London*.

HONOURED by an invitation to write on "Slavery and Indentured Labour," I troubled the committee with suggestions as to title—none of them satisfactory to myself. "Forced Labour" is generally confined to cases of direct compulsion. "Indentured Labour" covers many systems, good and bad. No one phrase is in common use to designate the result, both of such plans and of land and taxation policy intended by way of indirect compulsion to work upon plantations managed by Europeans or in mines. The object of the essay is to describe the most modern forms of malpractices in respect of labour-recruiting which the old anti-slavery societies of Europe and America are now concerned to remedy.

The writers of papers are directed to avoid bitterness towards Governments and nations, while "reasoned blame" is to be directed to practical ends. An interpretation of the instructions will not be wrong that takes for guide the wish to prove honesty towards native labour the best policy—the only policy that can be permanent. The warning from the Congo State is familiar to us all. It may be useful to note the singular difference of result produced in various French colonies of tropical Africa by the rejection or the adoption of wrong methods—introduced to the French Congo from the neighbouring Belgian concessions.

The economists have buried the old slavery, and convinced all that it tended either to become non-productive and benevolently old-fashioned, or else to promote intensive and exhaustive destruction of the labour itself, and ultimately of the resources of the State. Native convict labour, peonage, and some forms of indentured labour here and there still reveal to the inquisitive the old horrors, now for the most part relegated to the backward tracts of countries little known. Of the terrors which even an organised system of indentured labour agreed on between Governments may contain, the worst example in the time of living men was afforded

by the revelations of the Chinese Imperial Commission sent to Cuba to investigate the horrible outcome of an organised Chinese labour system founded after the emancipation of the black slaves of Spain. The proceedings were watched by Great Britain and recorded in conclusive documents. I refrain here from noting similar charges now under examination, inasmuch as the facts are not officially proved. But it seems probable that Yucatan and some other districts of Mexico present a field for such research.

More insidious and widespread modern forms of the evils to be considered are probably on the increase. It is, indeed, not easy to feel certain whether the anti-slavery cause has lost or gained ground in our time. There can unfortunately be no doubt that the principle of equal treatment of white and coloured people has failed to maintain its hold on the legislation of English-speaking States. No other example need be given than the inclusion of a "colour-bar" in our most recent Dominion Constitutions. As regards practice, the Government of India, backed by the Imperial Government at home, has lately failed to obtain from some British States that treatment for emigrating Indian British subjects which we had once been able to ensure. The correspondence refusing Indian labour to Réunion forms the main historical document of a better past. Lord Sanderson's inquiry, however, has reinforced Lord Salisbury's position that it is "an indispensable condition . . . that native settlers who have completed the terms of service to which they agreed" shall "be in all respects free men, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of H.M.'s subjects resident in the colonies."

Nevertheless, the moment is one at which there is a real risk of general recrudescence of slave conditions in disguise. The perversion of the system established by Europe for the Congo Valley, the quest for rubber, the development of the Amazon Valley in South America, the increase of capital rushing for profitable investment to the tropics, have led the company promoter into every jungle in the world; while the need for cotton and the demand for cocoa have quickened the race for concessions.

As regards "Forced Labour," the *corvée*, intended for roads and public works, is found in the legislation of many countries, as in the customs of almost all the native States. The system, generally accepted in its simpler and less harmful forms, is obviously liable to abuse. A familiar case of extension of *corvée* into virtual enslavement of the population was presented by Egypt under Ismail. It was the custom to call out without pay, or without sufficient wage, thousands of men and women, dragged to great distances from their homes, often in chains, and urged on by the whip.

Such practices are "put down," and then, sometimes, after being tentatively revived, at first in far milder form, creep in once more. To repair the banks by which inundation is averted, or, in the proper place, encouraged, may be represented as work similar to the patching-up by unpaid village labour of a road in Switzerland. But an Egyptian Minister may accumulate a fortune by the advantage over rival sugar-planters secured by the use of official temporary labour. Our latest Reports on Egypt have shown an enormous new call made on forced child labour for the destruction of a cotton worm.

In this matter, we have much to learn from French African experience. The French have found that forced labour is still forced labour when it is paid. They have, more nearly than any other nation, secured its abolition in their colonies. So, too, it will be seen that they have renounced indentured labour on a large scale under official management, finding that it completely failed in the nickel mines of New Caledonia when imported from Java and from Annam. Would that we were able to pronounce the French record as free from stain in the matter of concessions as under these two first heads! French kidnapping in the Southern Pacific is on a small scale, and, when discovered, is put down by the Republic, as "blackbirding" is put down by the Germans and ourselves.

In many of our own possessions there have been, by the admission of the Colonial Office, cases of *corvée* used for purposes which made it liable to abuse—forced labour, paid at rates lower than those of the open market; sometimes unpaid, and justified only by the plea of absolute necessity. Armies, even in Europe, obtain transport by force. In Africa, where chiefs exact labour for carrying baggage on the march, the distinction of reserving force for military operations has never been observed. Porterage is highly paid when good porterage is available, for no administrator or explorer is content with the service of the untrained native, so infinitely superior is the professional from the coast. But the right men cannot always be obtained. Railways, roads possible for the motor, and cycle paths have to be made, and abuse by extension of the *corvée* has not everywhere been mitigated. In the case of the Congo, the reply to M. Vandervelde's attacks shows that even the improved Belgian government of the former State defends the use of forced labour, on a large scale, at a great distance from the people's homes, for making railways.

A return laid before Parliament, on "forced labour in British Colonies," was on the surface fair enough. In self-governing Natal, though still existing, it was officially condemned, and elsewhere

it was minimised. But in our parliamentary debates of 1910 it was admitted that it had been again made use of in several of our African Protectorates at the first starting of the experimental growth of cotton. Those who read the annual reports from each colony, as for example from the Kedah Government, or from Kelantan, and from our older possessions in the Malay Peninsula, are aware of the difficulties met with. Although the Pacific Phosphate Company finds defenders of its proceedings in Ocean Island and in the Gilbert Islands, it seems to be admitted that our complaint against the Portuguese of mixing native convict labour, forced labour through chiefs, and indentured labour upon the same plantations applies to the practice of some islands connected by their labour history with our colony of Fiji. There is more dispute about the facts in East Africa and Uganda, but Bishop Tucker is a high and an impartial authority, and he, I believe, still condemns the use made of forced labour in our East African possessions. Sometimes, where Governments are innocent, concessionary companies compromise them and destroy the future of their colonies by obtaining forced labour through chiefs. This has been a main cause of the revolt on the French Ivory Coast.

So far as *corvée* may be retained, it is essential that we should avoid stretching the native usage by increase of the customary period of absence from home or the distance from home, thus impinging on the times for sowing and reaping each kind of village crop.

The ordinary forced labour of the Congo State, now said to be ended in half its territory, was of a different kind, happily unusual except in some of the neighbouring French and Franco-German concessionary areas. In the Congo alone, the State was the direct recipient of forest produce collected by forced labour as taxation. The admitted result of such a system is inevitable destruction of the economic future of the country. Its horrible incidents rightly attracted the most attention. That these occurred in a vast territory solemnly set aside by Europe as a model State increased the direct responsibility—especially of Belgium, the United States (with the earliest Treaty)—and the United Kingdom, and justified or necessitated intervention.

Though there are now more popular forms of forced labour to be considered, they often involve one main incident of the Congo system. By the destruction of native law and tribal custom, by fusing the noble with the slave population, and creating one universal black proletariat, cheap though inefficient labour is provided for managers representing European capital. Not only do the administrators come and go, but the companies themselves are not

likely to possess the territories for more than a few years, and have no interest in that permanent prosperity of the land which forms the chief interest of the Power under which they hold.

There is a widespread attempt to produce plentiful cheap labour by methods less destructive than those at which we have already glanced. The choice of the planters and mine managers appears to them to lie between indirect compulsion, through land laws and taxation, and the introduction of indentured labour from afar. The official tendency is against indentured labour, and more generally favourable to various systems offering inducement to the local native to work for Europeans because his lands are becoming insufficient for his needs and his taxes cannot otherwise be paid. This tendency is increased in the British, German, French, and even Liberian parts of Africa by the costliness of European government. In the African territories of the three Great Powers the development of railways and of harbours, and the desire to escape from obligations incurred towards the mother country in return for large annual subsidies, cause constant pressure in the same direction.

There is an obvious danger of the diversion of labour from those forms of agriculture which are most popular with the people and economically preferable for the local State. High price of rubber and of cocoa, the desire to stand well with the Governments of Germany or of Great Britain in the matter of cotton supply, rabid speculation in company shares, all increase a tendency regretted by our best administrators. The ownership, or even the temporary occupation, of increasing territories by absentee capitalists in Europe, acquiring all the mineral resources and a large share of the agricultural or forest produce, and paying wage to landless blacks dependent upon them for existence, are new features in African economic life. The problems are of European origin. The system is outside the experience and abhorrent to the customs of the population, whose theory is tribal ownership or dependence upon a trustee chief, and the dangers are increased by religious as well as by race hostility or prejudice. It is essential that ample land should be reserved for the use of the native agricultural population; but, as Sir Charles Bruce has shown, there has been no uniform policy and little sign of willingness to face the question, "How can a stable State be built on such a foundation?"

The indentured labour remedy has been described in the evidence given before Lord Sanderson's Committee. Such labour is brought from a distance to replace local labour, or else to keep down the wage bill by an active competition, or, again, to yield labour of a kind so dangerous, so hard, or locally so unusual as to be exceptionally distasteful. Deep mining, with its high percentage of

accident and death, is dreaded, at least when novel, whatever may be the salary attached to this form of toil. When mining has been for some time in operation it often, if well conducted, attracts a large supply of temporary labour, but rarely on a scale sufficient for a European manager's ideas.

The powerful Labour Administration of the Australian Commonwealth, having to govern Papua, finds itself faced with a demand for indentured labour from a distance, although local labour is singularly plentiful and good, considering the sudden spread of capitalist enterprise in New Guinea. Meetings have been held there by prospectors and planters to put pressure upon the Commonwealth, and investors asked to stay their hand, but assured that each prospectus issued in London is well within the mark—in all respects but one. The "public" assemble to show the Government of Australia that "the companies are in need of double as many indentured labourers as they can procure," though the Minister of Labour states that 5,500 were in their service on June 30, 1910. "The methods of recruiting are inadequate," "the duration of the indentures" too short; and the meetings call for "compulsory labour" at least of "prisoners," perhaps without too much investigation of how far the sentence of the wished-for convicts might be colourable. One reverend gentleman, interviewed after the great meeting, frankly opened his store of "considerable knowledge"—"I believe in compulsory labour in certain districts."

Lord Sanderson's Committee, nominally reporting in favour of the continuance of existing indentured Indian emigration, laid stress upon conditions without which it "might easily become oppressive." We are to insist on, but seem, in Trinidad at least, unable to obtain, a staff determined to take seriously the duty for which they are appointed as "Protectors" of immigrants. Lord Sanderson's Committee propose only to permit Indian indentured immigration to "such colonies as have spare land" in suitable situation. This, however, is exactly what many colonies do not possess, and for which there is no security in others. Zululand, for example, was handed over to Natal, of which it now is held to be an ordinary part, on condition of the reservation to natives of lands now being granted to concessionary companies, and Natal has been till now still in receipt of indentured labour from India. Those lately concerned in the government of South Africa, who do not see eye to eye with many of us, hold the strongest opinion as to the unfairness of displacement of local native labour under the circumstances of the South African case. Yet Indian indentured labour is an example specially favourable to the indenture system, for India possesses and has exercised in the past the right to suspend

emigration to any country where proper measures are not taken for the protection of the labourers and for their return if they reject the favourable conditions stipulated for their permanent settlement in their new home.

The Committee think that in some colonies the immigration is required because the indigenous population is diminishing. In Fiji the terrible decrease in the native population occurred under an experimental system for dealing with native labour by means as scientific and in result almost as cruel as the culture system of Java—like the Fiji system—now abolished. But the death-rate of Fiji for the substituted Indian labour is also high. In an official paper on the death-rate in Penang it is admitted that the conditions in “many of the estates that take indentured labour are such that unindentured labourers refuse to take employment on them,” and “desertions are numerous.” It seems that India is unable always to enforce her just demands even in her own immediate neighbourhood. As regards the West Indies, although the Committee were disposed to clear the officials from the heavy charges brought against them, such documents as those which explain why so large a proportion of labourers are sent to gaol, and how the exaction of the legal task causes the desertion noted, cannot but raise grave misgiving. “An enormous quantity of suffering” is admitted, and Mr. Norman Lamont’s evidence showed the opinion of an estate owner anxious to be fair as to how little chance the aggrieved labourer has of invoking, still less obtaining, the real defence of “the Protector.”

It is essential to be on guard against the common cry that the local native will not work. The case of at least three British colonies possessing negro labour is to be remembered. That of Jamaica may suffice. Indian indentured labour is thought necessary for the local plantations, and is largely paid for by the taxation of the Jamaican negro; but the latter is in demand in Panama and even in Dutch Guiana, at high wage, so that it becomes evident that we are in face, not of unwillingness to work, but of inability of the planter to pay the wage which the labourer can earn in the open market. Lord Sanderson’s Committee, by weighing evidence collected from every responsible source, upset the demand for supplying indentured labour to colonies asking for its extension to new fields. We find but one exception, and as regards “an experiment on a small scale,” in Uganda, where the decrease of the native population is “alarming,” the Committee place on record their opinion that it is not likely to be a financial success.

It is often the case that plenty of local labour can be obtained, but that the willing native wants to return home to superintend the sowing of his crops, or, as the employer puts it, “leave just

at the moment when he has become efficient." Yes, but leave, and, all but invariably, return. Such labour makes for peace, and should be encouraged. The supply of labour from Basutoland and Bechuanaland to neighbouring colonies illustrates the best side of the voluntary labour just described; while that from Portuguese East Africa to the Transvaal mines lies upon the borderland between voluntary supply and that obtained by abuse of the power of corrupted chiefs. No supervision will avoid the occasional satisfaction of private grudges, or the payment of commissions, and no licensing of recruiters will invariably secure that these agents will keep faith. Yet, where the supply of labour is partly local and largely voluntary, a certain absence of the worst abuses is secured by the greater facility in retaining labour enjoyed by enterprises with the best reputation for good management.

India, like China, exports labour, but in India we have followed a course wholly different from that adopted by other countries in their dominions or, recently, by ourselves in colonies. M. Joseph Chailley points out that "a native policy is a new aspect of colonial policy," which "proposes itself a double end: to bring the native population to furnish willingly abundant labour to European enterprise, and to prepare the native population to resign itself to the domination of the stranger." But, according to the French writer, we "in India have thought only of the second aspect of native policy. . . . India is not and never has been a colony. She has not . . . like the Dutch in Java and we French in Further India and Madagascar, dreamt of bringing . . . colonists to be scattered through the country, and as capitalists, founding or directing enterprises, needing the help of native labour." After naming the tea-planters, M. Chailley goes on to write: "There are not agricultural colonists in the plains, near the villages, disputing with these the land and calling for the labour."

As regards Africa, the Powers have both moral and conventional duties towards one another. Now, Africa is still by far the greatest field of our inquiry: some hundred and twenty millions of negroes in Africa find their present and their future absolutely at the mercy of the policy of Governments in Europe.

It is difficult to present an accurate view of the obligations solemnly incurred by the Powers who took part in the Partition, after arranging with one another its conditions, unless we recall the sequence of events.

The English are by no means the worst in recent tropical administration; but we can never forget that we were, little more than a century ago, still the mainstay of the African slave trade, which for three generations we have done much to put down. We have no

uniform policy in affairs concerning native labour, but Herr Dernburg, on behalf of the German Empire, paid us repeatedly the highest testimony ever given in such matters by one nation to another. French politicians reporting on the Colonial Budget have called on France to imitate our policy and practice in those cases where French colonies have been wrecked or endangered by corrupt concessions happily avoided in the greater part of the French dominions. The worst of French concessions were those granted in the neighbourhood of the Belgian Congo to Franco-Belgian companies, and a destructive policy, complicated in the "conventional area" by defiance of international engagements against monopoly, may be attributed to the Congo State under its late ruler.

The "concessionary scandals" revealed in France in recent years have led to a revival of sound principle in Paris and to a struggle which is still raging. While paying insufficient regard to international obligation, already violated with impunity by the Congo State, French statesmen reach our desired end by fresh consideration of what France owes to her own reputation, and needs for her future strength. It is seen that to break up the native organisation of society in order to substitute ferocious individualism or a dead level of the lowest form of competitive labour for absentee capital despotically represented by inferior agents on the spot is neither defensible nor, in the long run, compatible with colonial prosperity. M. Messimy in his two reports to the Chamber on the Colonial Budget and in his book of 1910 has announced the devotion of his efforts to the creation in France of "a colonial conscience." The share of France in the African partition is geographically gigantic, and the enterprise of her officers has caused the acceptance of her rule over a vast field inhabited by races as diverse as those with which we have ourselves to deal in India. "The task of France is the most difficult. The peoples she has to rule are those in Africa who are nearest and furthest from her civilisation." . . . "The prodigious effort required is the very cause of the enthusiasm with which many Frenchmen have thrown themselves into the colonial work." Frenchmen who are at the opposite pole from M. Messimy, and profess exclusive regard to material interest, agree with him in holding that it is impossible to retain such gigantic territories if the institutions to which the natives cling are broken up and replaced by practices universally odious.

In the second half of 1910 the French Ministry of the Colonies published the new arrangement come to with those companies in the French Congo of which there had been the heaviest complaint. Apart from the special trouble on the Ivory Coast the complaints

have chiefly concerned the middle Congo and the Gaboon, where seven millions of black people, out of thirty millions in the French African colonies, are to be found in thickly populated areas. The companies were forced into an agreement to give up a large portion of territory improperly conceded in 1899; and this partly on the ground that there had been a breach of the General Act of Berlin.

The Gold Coast presents an example of complete knowledge of the new facts as they affect a British colony. Behind the old settlements, such as Cape Coast Castle, come the newer territories like Ashanti, and then those "Northern Territories" which resemble the Hinterland Protectorates of Northern Nigeria and of neighbouring French and German possessions. There is a special law to protect the natives against reckless concessions; but a circular from the Colonial Office, pointing out that grants of lands and other rights by chiefs are not valid unless ratified, showed a year ago that alarm was rightly felt at the rapid alienation to Europeans of tribal territory held in trusteeship for the people. The case of one concession in particular was brought before Parliament. It was forty miles long, granted for ninety-nine years, and vouched for in the advertisements as having received official guarantee. It appeared also to violate the conditions laid down as to adequacy of consideration. The agitation led to a despatch from the Secretary of State at the end of July, couched in terms according with the views put forward in this essay; but at the end of December we do not yet know how far the stable gate has now been shut. By the loss of the ultimate resources of the colony local labour in the long run must become oppressed, even though there be temporarily high wage and prosperity.

The practical lessons to be drawn from recent success and failure are best studied in that part of West Africa where France is sandwiched between three British and two German coast tracts. The most interesting diversities are those presented by the French and British colonies in question, and many a moral might be drawn from consideration of the peculiarities of some six of the Governments concerned. Of the British colonies, the Gold Coast may be taken as an example; while the French range through the whole scale of possible variety, from Senegal to the Gaboon or coast district of what used to be "the French Congo." In Senegal the natives vote; they engage almost exclusively in their favourite old forms of oil culture; there are no concessions, and France reaps her profit in large trade. In the Hinterland, the Government is military, but in its way as good. In French Guinea, too much has been done through the agency of the chiefs, who grind their people. The Ivory Coast is a colony which once was as prosperous as the others, but has been

thrown back by a hard administration, one incident of which was the forced planting by each village of certain new kinds of crop. In the long run the taxes went unpaid, and the people sold themselves to traders till all the labour was virtually forced labour, and insurrection followed. In the middle Congo and the Gaboon there still reign the great companies above named, who rid themselves of the competition of our Liverpool merchants, but have now lost all real hold of the country. Trade with France from the French Congo has dwindled to a half of what it was a few years ago, and it is now universally admitted that the whole *concessionnaire* principle has been disastrous, as well as, to the natives, cruel. It is disagreeable to have to add that one of the companies brought out by a new concession is described as English. Another such is the Ivory Coast Corporation, formed to acquire more than a thousand square miles in absolute ownership.

We ourselves have no more completely escaped the granting of concessions than have the Germans in the Cameroons.

There is no difference of opinion among those in general sympathy with our views in Germany and France, as well as the United Kingdom, that concessions are best avoided, but, where granted, should be small in area, short in time, and subject to close scrutiny and continual publication of facts. The interchange of knowledge on the subject between the three great Governments principally concerned is already active and might well be formal.

It may be right to add a warning against a rapid spread of Government plantations. In the case of the Congo State, the rubber plantations are large, and may carry with them a revival of compulsion applied to labour on a considerable scale. Late in October the introduction of a new form of virtual slavery in this shape was placed on record as discovered in and near "the A.B.I.R." Not only Congo reformers, but also Colonel Thys ("the Belgian Rhodes") oppose State plantations. Although our own operations in the experimental growth of cotton are smaller and less dangerous, they must be subject to the consideration that the risk of fall of price may make it unreasonable to expect that the African native will plant cotton without subsidy, or virtual compulsion. We cannot forget the risk of creating an alarm among the industrious natives of our most populous African protectorates. On our West Coast available labour is fully occupied in the most remunerative form of agriculture or of industry connected with it; and the warning of the Ivory Coast is there to show the danger of interfering rapidly with the long-settled habits of a peaceful but vigorous population.

[*Paper submitted in English.*]

SUPPLEMENT TO SIR CHARLES DILKE'S
PAPER

By JOSEPH BURTT, *Matlock (England)*.

THE racial problem was never more prominent than now. So far from the day of the probation of the races being past, their struggle for supremacy has become a thrilling drama watched by anxious nations. After ages of isolation the yellow man has come forward and defeated a white nation ; and the negro, a century ago either a slave in a foreign land, or living unknown in a remote continent, is now free and demanding equality, or waking to progress in a land partitioned among the European Powers.

How the negroid races shall be treated is a problem of cosmic importance, demanding not only justice and wisdom, but an appreciation of ethnological facts.

History with its surprises should teach us not to despise the so-called backward races. Capacity may lie dormant for ages and yet awake under the influence of suitable stimuli, as in the case of the ancient Greeks. The Zulus, an eastern branch of the Bantu stock, and one of the highest types of the negritic races, have been compared with those blonde barbarians who two thousand years ago were despised by the Romans, but who to-day as Teutons are among the leaders of civilisation.

Unlike the red man of America, or the Maori of New Zealand, the negro of Africa appears to be an enduring, world race. His physical vitality, ready emotionalism, and joy in life show a vital youth, as the hopelessness, lack of fecundity, and joyless pursuit of materialism point to the declining age of more advanced nations.

The black and white races cannot keep apart.

Africa is to the modern man what the Americas were to the Elizabethan. Her wealth of gold, precious stones, ivory, rubber, oil, and cocoa is so great that no perils can keep him from her shores. Once there he finds himself in a land of mystery and death, where, surrounded by swarms of poisonous flies, Beelzebub is over-lord. The sun strikes him by day and deadly diseases attack him by night, and he has no strength to gather the treasure he covets. In his need he turns for help to the enduring muscle, the thick skull, and the germ-defying constitution of the negro. To-day, as blue-books testify, there rings through all Africa a cry for coloured labour. To this cry the black man lends a willing ear, for he, on his part, is fascinated by the cloth, beads, tools, and even the learning of the white man.

It is here indentured labour becomes an important factor in the position.

The 120 millions of negroes in Africa, now under the rule of European parliaments, are influenced by government, secular and religious education, and by the mere proximity of whites. But probably the chief factor is the relationship of employer and labourer.

This relationship in the past was slavery, for which crime the white man has paid not only in self-degradation, but in the material outcome of wrong-doing, as in America, where the results of slavery hang like an incubus over the Southern States.

That the indentured labour system, now widely employed, is an enormous advance on slavery no one can doubt who, like myself, has seen the happy natives returning from the Transvaal mines at the end of their contract.

But, as in the case of Cuba, indentured labour may lead to grave abuses, and become slavery in all but name ; and this is the more to be dreaded that of late

years there has been a definite reaction from the strong anti-slavery feeling of a century ago.

The methods of providing labour for the cultivation of cocoa in the islands of S. Thome and Principe during the last twenty years illustrate the abuse of the indentured system. During two years spent in Africa to investigate this case, I visited the islands and travelled for months along the main labour route from the interior. Lean and scarred natives, slaves in all but name, were to be seen tottering under heavy loads; in places the road was strewn with shackles, and gruesome sights gave evidence of the cruelty connected with this so-called free system. Dread of the slaver hung over the people like a cloud; and the pernicious traffic with its many ramifications struck at the root of honest trade and progress.

That this took place under the Portuguese flag is not pertinent to our inquiry. The Republican Government is doing its best to correct these abuses, and we must remember they are the result of lawlessness of the white and helplessness of the black—factors not confined to the colonies of any one nation.

The fact that the labour was sent to another colony of the same nation, that the laws referring to it were just, and that the cultivation of cocoa is one of the healthiest forms of agriculture, show what evils may arise from the system, even when, as in this case, it has circumstances in its favour.

Let us clearly recognise that indentured labour has many inherent evils. It takes the native from his home, often separates him from his family for a long period, and tends to make him a landless unit, dependent on capital. It operates in remote regions between parties incredibly unequal—the happy-go-lucky black, and the determined white armed with the modern gun and supported by experience, capital, and the tradition of power.

It is obvious that such a system must be watched with the utmost vigilance. The recruiting must be absolutely free, the period of contract short, and the native should return periodically to his home and family.

But while making the best of indentured labour, we should stretch forward to a system in which the native himself practises industries or cultivates his own land.

The successful administration of Senegal has been cited. Our own colony of the Gold Coast is a further example, and is one of the most hopeful developments in Africa. There tribes who a few years ago were notorious for bloodshed are now devoting themselves to agriculture. Such work is natural to the native, is in accord with his best traditions, and is the most certain method of developing character and educating him in habits of industry.

Added to this, such a system builds up a lasting and prosperous state, which is at once easy to rule and profitable to the home government.

[Paper submitted in English.]

TRAFFIC IN INTOXICANTS AND OPIUM

By Dr. J. H. ABENDANON, *The Hague*,

Late Director of Public Instruction, &c., in the Netherlands East Indies.

THE Committee of the Races Congress has done me the honour of asking me for a paper concerning the traffic in intoxicants and opium as between different races.

This paper, however, must be kept within certain narrow limits.

I can, therefore, pass over the doleful records of the past, when the attractive name of "Eau de Vie" was invented as a euphemism for intoxicating drinks, and as an apology for all the misery they brought with them.

Nor is it necessary to speak of what happened in former times in the various colonies, and in other countries where the European races had some influence. The statement would have the appearance of a sombre indictment, and would form a long enumeration of lamentable facts which cannot be altered now.

Nor shall I dwell upon the different kinds of intoxicants and the danger, greater or less, which each of them represents.

We can safely accept the point of view that all intoxicants are dangerous unless they are used for medical purposes under medical advice.

What we have stated concerning intoxicants holds equally of opium. Not only is the use of this drug injurious in itself, but it is still more so because the need of taking more and more becomes imperious. The consumer of opium requires an ever-increasing quantity to give him satisfaction, and when he cannot afford to buy it, he will not shrink from using the basest means to procure what he longs for. Opium enslaves the consumer.

We cannot, therefore, sufficiently insist on the necessity of avoiding the dangers involved in the use of either intoxicating liquors or opium.

Even those who do not consider intoxicants and opium injurious, will have to confess that both are of no service to the human constitution except in cases of illness. We positively know that the use and abuse of alcoholic liquors and opium are closely connected with, and, we may even say with confidence, are the cause of loss of energy ; and loss of energy is loss of power, which means ruin to individuals as well as to nations.

This being the case, is it not our duty, a most sacred duty, to do all in our power to warn mankind of this fatal danger, and see that all necessary measures are taken to avert it?

When we turn to the future, the question arises as to the task in this direction of the different Governments, and of those who think not only of their own profit, but also of the progress and welfare of the nations with whom they come in contact. We have also to consider the possibility of inducing exporters of these dangerous products to join their efforts to those of Governments and reformers ; to change their trade if necessary for one that is more in accordance with the principles of humanity ; and especially to bear in mind, besides their own interest, the welfare of those nations who are not yet in the full light of civilisation.

A most efficacious preventive measure is what is known as the *Régie*, which enables Governments to decide the quantity and quality of the articles to be sold, and to prevent any forcing of the demand. The sale is too often forced when it is left to any one who cares to take it in hand, or who has acquired a right of monopoly from the Government.

Another means would be to impose heavy import duties ; but this alone would not suffice, for it would only increase prices and probably lead to adulteration. Still, this measure should certainly be taken. It might have the effect of stopping the importation altogether, not suddenly, but gradually, by diminishing the amount every year.

Another way would be to prohibit the sale of these articles to natives, or at least to limit it as much as possible.

Here, however, we must agree that, in countries where up to the present day opium has been the only, or the most important, agricultural product, these measures should be framed with due care, so as to avoid economic disaster. Special care should be taken, moreover, to prevent the substitution for opium of intoxicants or other kinds of drugs, prepared from other plants or ingredients, and producing similar effects such as morphine, the so-called "anti-opium pills," hashish, and similar concoctions. We would suggest also great care in regulating the use of palm-wine, which, owing to the facility with which it can be prepared, is a real danger.

However, it cannot be repeated too often and too emphatically : nothing must be done by force. No violence will prevent those who wish to drink from drinking, or those who wish to smoke from smoking. The sufferer must be peacefully educated to resist those stimulants because he knows that they are bad, and, in order not to desire them, he must fully understand their effect. The very best way of fighting the evil, therefore, is by a sound and widespread system of public instruction. And this instruction must be of such a character that the young may acquire an adequate knowledge of the devastating influences of both intoxicants and opium, for the mind as well for the body. When they have this knowledge, they cannot fail to see and feel that the abuse of these stimulants is not only injurious, but even wicked and immoral.

In order to inspire the young with this strength of will and soundness of principle, it is absolutely necessary to choose their teachers among men of solid character and high principles, since their task is to educate as well as to instruct. Nothing conduces so much to the material and intellectual progress of a nation as a most extensive public education both of mind and character.

If the mind is developed, and the character formed, as we suggest, the conviction will be no doubt so firm that it will not easily be shaken. Examples should be given. Even what seems a little exaggerated would do no harm at the outset.

The engravings sometimes seen in schools and at hygienic exhibitions, which give an idea of the ravages caused in the human frame by the abuse of spirits, such as enlargement of the stomach and the heart, atrophy of the liver, dulness of the brain, general enervation, weak muscles, &c., are well fitted to influence primitive races, if at the same time they are made to appreciate the functions and the importance of the principal organs in the human body, especially of the brain. It should be well understood that the brain cannot act in the way it should, and is expected to do, unless the whole organism is normal and each part of the body functions properly. To the engravings just mentioned might be added photographs of confirmed opium-smokers looking like living skeletons.

I should finally like to state, in regard to the preventive measures referred to above: (1) In Norway the sale of intoxicants in small quantities is forbidden, a measure which has helped to lessen the amount of drinking. (2) In the Netherlands the number of public-houses has been restricted, and the sale of spirits is only permitted under special authorisation. On the other hand, there exist several associations which encourage the cheap consumption of milk, coffee, cocoa, broth, lemonade, &c., by establishing small kiosks in all directions, some even in solitary places in the suburbs of large towns. (3) In China the cultivation of the poppy (*papaver*) is being systematically restricted, with a view to prohibiting the production of opium. The measures taken in this matter by the Chinese Government are of great importance for the agricultural and economic welfare of China, and so are the steps that are being taken in this matter by other Governments, who are entering into a Conference at The Hague in July of this year for this very purpose.

[Paper submitted in English.]

SIXTH SESSION

THE MODERN CONSCIENCE IN RELATION TO RACIAL QUESTIONS (THE NEGRO AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN)

THE WORLD-POSITION OF THE NEGRO AND NEGROID

By Sir HARRY H. JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc.,
Formerly British Commissioner and Consul-General in Africa, &c.

BY negro must also be understood negroid, that is to say, any human race, nationality, or people sufficiently tinged with negro blood to display the negroid characteristics of a dark skin and a spirally coiled hair. No existing type of the human species is so markedly set off from the white or Caucasian division as the negro. Any type of Mongol or Amerindian can mingle with a white race, and a hybrid in the first generation will not be so alien or repellant to the pure white type that it may not quickly and easily fuse into the white community; and, of course, the more the white intermarries with the Tartar, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Eskimo, the Amerindian, or the Malay, the more those races are approximated to the Caucasian group. Indeed, some comparative anatomists like Professor W. H. L. Duckworth scarcely pretend to discriminate anatomically between the white man, the Mongolian, or the Amerindian: merely between the Caucasian type and the Eskimo, which last, though specialised in some directions, may be held to represent very nearly the primitive Mongolian offshoot from the basal stock of *Homo sapiens*. There is less racial bar between the Caucasian and the Mongol than there is between the Australoid and the Caucasian. Yet these two last named have freely intermingled, though, according to anatomists, the Australoid type represents more nearly than any

other living human variety the Neanderthaloid man of Palæolithic Europe, and perhaps in a lesser degree the original basal form of *Homo sapiens*, from which all existing human races, varieties, or subspecies have been derived.

Thus we see in the peoples of Polynesia and of India the results, ancient and modern, of a direct mingling between the Caucasian and the Australoid, and these results, where they are more or less free from any intermixture with the negro stock, constitute peoples that, when their social status has been raised, have fused without difficulty into the white world. For instance, a German planter in Samoa might have children by a native woman, a Frenchman likewise in Tahiti, or an Englishman by a New Zealand Maori, and their male offspring not find any sensible colour bar standing in the way of their marrying in turn white women of social status equivalent to their own. There is more difficulty in this respect in regard to India, simply because the whole Indian Peninsula (like some of the Malay Islands and New Guinea) is permeated with negro blood of the original Asiatic negro stock which we find subsisting in a more or less pure form in the Andaman Islands, in a few Nilgiri tribes of Southern India, in the Malay Peninsula and one or two Malay Islands, and, above all, in the great islands to the north-east of New Guinea and in New Guinea itself. The indigenes of Tasmania, before they were exterminated by the British settlers, probably exhibited the survival either of examples of the negro stock in a stage very near to that at which it first diverged from the Australoid form, or a more recent hybrid between the Oceanic negroid and the Australoid. The peoples of New Caledonia, of Fiji, the New Hebrides, many parts of New Guinea, the Philippine Islands, and even Annam and Burma, are more or less tinged with ancient negro intermixture, the degree ranging from an almost pure negro form to the very faintest indications of negro affinities. Consequently, it happens that many of the Eurasians derived from a cross between certain Indian, South Asiatic and Western Polynesian types are distinctly less pleasing to the racial prejudice of the pure white man than would be an Amerindian half-breed or a cross between a European and a Samoan or Maori, or between Japanese and Chinese on the one hand and Europeans on the other; but simply for the reason that in the cross between the average Indian or Malaysian and the white people, there is betrayed some negroid characteristic which for deep-seated, unexplained reasons arouses an inherent dislike in the absolutely pure-blood white people of Central and Northern Europe, of North America, or of white Australia. Herein lies, indeed (I believe), the explanation of the nearly-extinct hatred of the Jew, and of the results of Jewish intermarriage, or of

the similar desire to decry the appearance of the offspring proceeding from the rare unions between Nordic white men and Egyptian or Moorish women: simply the fact that in the Jew, as in the Egyptian and the Moor, there is a varying but still discernible element of the negro, derived in the case of the Jew from the strong infusion of Elamite blood, and in the case of the Moor, from the obvious connection with negro Africa. The same remarks apply in certain cases to the peoples of Southern Persia or Eastern Arabia, the negro intermixture there being due not only to the Elamite element of ancient times, but to the importation on a large scale of negro slaves during the whole Islamic period.

Recent discoveries made in the vicinity of the principality of Monaco, and others in Italy and Western France—all of them analysed in the monograph on the skulls found in the grottoes of Grimaldi, edited by Dr. Verneaux, of Paris, and published in 1909 by the Prince of Monaco—would seem to reveal, even if some of their deductions are discounted and a few statements regarded as erroneous, the actual fact that many thousand years ago a negroid race had penetrated through Italy into France, leaving traces at the present day in the physiognomy of the peoples of Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Southern and Western France, and even in the western parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. There are even at the present day some examples of the Keltiberian peoples of Western Scotland, Southern and Western Wales, Southern and Western Ireland, of distinctly negroid aspect, and in whose ancestry there is no indication whatever of any connection with the West Indies or with modern Africa. Still more marked is this feature in the peoples of Southern and Western France and of the other parts of the Mediterranean already mentioned. There is a strong negroid element in the south of Spain and the south of Portugal, but we are not entitled in default of other evidence to assume that this is due to such an ancient negroid immigration as seems to be indicated in France and Italy. Because, in the first place, the repeated Moorish invasions of Spain obviously brought thither a very considerable infusion of negro blood from the Nigerian Sudan, while Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries deliberately imported negro slaves to do the agricultural work of her southern provinces. Hitherto—I speak under correction—there has been discovered no deeply-buried skull in Portugal or Spain having the same obvious negroid characteristics as the skulls found in ancient burial-places in Italy or in France.

Formerly, it was the fashion amongst anthropologists to attribute the black-avised peoples of Western or North-Western Europe—their dark hair, brown eyes, tendency to a swarthy skin, and

comparative length or shortness of limb bones and other anatomical features—to the persistence in those regions of a strain of Neanderthaloid or Palæolithic man. And it was assumed that because the modern black Australian is the nearest living representative of the Neanderthaloid type, and at the same time is more or less of a “black” man, the man of Neanderthal, Spy, Heidelberg, Krapina, Galley Hill and the Corrèze must have been similarly black-skinned or of a very dark brown skin colour, possessing likewise black hair and brown eyes. It is permissible from the little we know to assume that *Homo primigenius* was black-haired and had a brown or hazel-coloured iris (blue-grey, no doubt, in newly-born children, as it is so often with infant negroes and Asiatics), and there may have been in this primitive type of man an occasional outbreak of erythrm, or individuals with red hair and a light yellow iris; but I see no reason whatever to assume that the parent of the European white man—the heavy-browed, slightly Simian type, which we now know ranged over parts of North Africa, of Spain, and the greater part of Europe—had a black or a dark-brown skin or had hair which was flattened to an ellipse and inclined to be spirally twisted in its growth. On the contrary, *Homo primigenius*, or, at any rate, the Neanderthaloid type, may have had a skin like that of some chimpanzees or of the orang-utan, ranging in colour from a dirty-white to a yellowish-gray; while the hair of his head and body, though normally black, may have had a considerable tendency towards brown. If this was the case, then it would seem as though the dark strain of pigmented skin and curly hair which permeates so much of Europe and Asia is due not to the retention of the *Homo primigenius* element, but to the invasion of those regions in ancient times by negro peoples emigrating from Southern Asia: the original development area, as far as we can guess, of the negro subspecies.

Of course, in considering all points of view, we must bear in mind that a section of the negro race—the Bushman element in South Africa—is not black-skinned, but yellow, or yellow-brown; while certain tribes of Congo pigmies are a clear reddish-yellow; and that the majority of negro babies are born with a yellowish skin, which only darkens into brown or black a few weeks after birth. These facts, however, may only tend to show that the basal stock of humanity was yellow-skinned, and that in the case of the negro and negroid the yellow, as soon as the specialisation of this type began, deepened rapidly into dark-brown or black. We know that certain races of Amerindians absolutely devoid of any recent intermixture with the negro, or of any other intermixture at any time, have under conditions of local environment developed very dark-coloured skins. The Bushman may possibly have retained the

original light-coloured skin of the negroid ancestor ; or, as in the case of those Congo pigmies dwelling in the densest forests, have under diverse conditions of environment eliminated much of the skin pigment and become in course of time yellow-skinned instead of dark brown. The tendency in the case of Congo pigmies is for their skin colour to darken in the next generation which is born under better conditions of life, and, above all, away from the deep shade of the Congo forests. But it is probable that the light-coloured skin of the Bushman is a very ancient feature. There are sparse indications here and there that the Bushman type once inhabited the valley of the Upper Niger and the adjacent plateaus, and also parts of North-East and East Africa ; and native traditions regarding this vanished type assert that it was "red-skinned," that is to say, sufficiently light in colour to be a contrast to the black or dark-brown negroes who dispossessed it, yet at the same time sufficiently sombre in tone to be remarked as "red-skinned" by the yellow-white Fulas.

The nigrescence, therefore, of Europe, Asia, North Africa, and Oceania may be due to the negro, who in many other respects is the opposite pole to the white man. Gradually we seem to see approaching a period in the segregation of humanity when there may be two rival camps, black and white, though the black may have been toned down to a pale brown and the white toned up to a warm yellow.

But such an eventuality, with 800,000,000 of Dravidian or Mongoloid Asiatics and Amerindians to be absorbed into the white camp would occupy such a lengthy period that the results which might accrue from this division of the human species into two rival and diverging types need not occupy the attention of practical men and women at the present day. The point which this Congress may prefer to discuss is the degree to which the negro and negroid may make common cause with the white peoples, and the effect which might consequently be produced by any considerable extension of intermarriage.

The matter of skin colour, facial outline, and of hair texture, is largely a question of æsthetics. If we could imagine some super-human agency looking down on this little planet with a knowledge and appreciation of things far superior to that possessed by the wisest human being, we might hold it conceivable that such an intelligence would either see that there was not a pin to choose between being pink-skinned or brown-skinned, that curly hair was no uglier than straight hair, or a Wellington nose not more beautiful than one of low bridge with widespreading nostrils : in short, that a well-developed negro or negress was no uglier than a well-developed

white man or white woman, provided that both alike were good examples of physical and mental efficiency. Such a being might also happen to know that of which we are at present uncertain, namely, that the negro originally—say forty thousand to ten thousand years ago—had a greater innate feeling for art and music than his white or yellow relations, equally with himself mere hunters of wild beasts. There are sufficient indications not to prove, but certainly to make not ridiculous, a theory which might attribute to the ancient negroid permeation of Europe and Asia a love of music and a desire to reproduce in painting, engraving, or sculpture the striking aspects of beasts and birds or of human life.

It may be also that the negro has acquired in a severe struggle against the micro-organisms of the Tropics a power of resistance to certain diseases not as yet possessed by the white man or the yellow. He has certainly been endowed by nature with a degree of race-fertility probably surpassing that of the European, Asiatic, and Amerindian living under conditions similarly unfavourable to the struggle for existence. Those few scientific men in Britain, Germany, France, the United States, and Brazil who have striven to understand the anthropology of the negro, and to compare it with that of the white man, are rather inclined than otherwise to argue now that the negro and the negroid have contributed in the past, and still more may contribute in the future, a very important quota to the whole sum of humanity, an element of soundness and stability in physical development and certain mental qualities which the perfected man of, let us say, twenty-two or twenty-three centuries after Christ cannot afford to do without. Such advisers would attempt to hold us back from furious raging against racial intermixture, and above all, from any policy of oppression or extirpation to which from time to time the white man is prone when he thinks that the negro or negroid gets in his way.

Some people claiming to be equally farsighted and superior to the temporary prejudices of the human mind hold the theory that the negro should never have been regarded as anything better than a slave to the white peoples and to the yellow ; and that the enemies of the perfect man of the future—those who would seek to delay the advance of human perfection—are the philanthropists who in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used their great influence to forbid the slave trade, to abolish slavery, and to erect the negro into the position of a citizen with no legal bar to his equality of standing with the white man. These open foes of the negro are spiritually the brothers of the persons who hold, or who have held in their past writings, that we committed a fatal mistake when we introduced European ideas of education into India.

These last are right, no doubt. When we commenced a hundred years ago to spread education broadcast amongst our subject black and yellow peoples, we sowed the dragon's teeth. We made it possible for generations to come into being who should see the world through our eyes, who should acquire our knowledge of good and evil—that knowledge we had so painfully gained by a hundred thousand years of martyrdom, of unremitting struggle with natural forces—and should seek to apply to their own social and racial troubles the solutions we had found so advantageous in our own case. But the fact is, if these persons are right, that the mischief began, not with the introduction of modern education into India fifty years ago, or a hundred years ago, or, first, the setting free, and, secondly, the missionary education of the natives of Africa and the negroes of America, but with the mission and the teaching of Christ.

Jesus Christ had a notable forerunner in the person of Sakya-Muni, the Buddha, whom some have supposed (like Christ Himself) to have been of what is called conventionally "Aryan" stock; that is to say, descended more or less from that Nordic white race which has been the principal channel of human improvement, the main fount of world-moving ideas. Had Buddha's teaching not been swamped in Mongolian petty-mindedness and Dravidian dreams, it might have done the work of Christianity. Undoubtedly it was a revolt against the caste prejudice of the Aryan, and its fundamental teaching was the racial equality of all men. But its ultimate effect on Asia has been of little purport. It has not prevented or even much mitigated the horrible wars, massacres, and ravages which made Southern Asia a perpetual battleground for the two thousand years preceding the middle of the nineteenth century.

This long martyrdom of the brown and yellow peoples of Asia was due primarily to the attempts of the white man—in the form of Persian, Greek, Arab, Afghan, Portuguese, Frenchman, Dutchman, and Englishman—to push the stubborn Mongol before him, and to enslave more or less the weaker, more negroid, Dravidian populations; a task in which the Buddhist Mongol, whenever he was permitted to take a hand, showed himself quite as ruthless as the Muhammadan or mediæval-Christian white man. But, strange to say, the teaching of Christ and His apostles—however much it might be overloaded with dogma as silly as those of Asia and Africa, and myths no more precious in our modern eyes than those of the more primitive religions—has possessed some unconquerable surviving influence, which began to make itself felt from the end of the fifteenth century in the humanitarian teachings of both Catholic and Protestant. These doctrines prevailed sufficiently on the public opinion of the white world not only to hold back the white man (when he had the

power) from exterminating or dehumanising the dark-skinned races which had become subject to him ; but prevailed even to force him to extend the gospel of Christ to those peoples, to regard them theoretically as equally men with his own race, and, above all, to give them the advantages of a European education.

For aught I know, the teaching of Christ may have been the work of reactionary Nature : judging from the writings of not a few amongst my fellow-countrymen and others in the United States and in Germany, it must have been a wrong idea, since its practical application would inevitably tend to draw all branches of the human race together, with the ultimate result of racial fusion, of equal privileges for all human beings possessing the same degree of education, of moral and physical worth.

On the other hand, the coming and the teaching of Christ may have been the most remarkable event in the history of the human species since man emerged definitely from apehood ; and the logical carrying out of Christian principles may lead not only to the gradual extinction of race-hatred, envy, and malice, but more quickly to the formation of the perfect man than might be brought about under other religious systems.

According to the nearest estimate one can make, there are at present about 135,000,000 of negroes and negroids in the world, as contrasted with 575,000,000 of white or Caucasian people, about 520,000,000 yellow or Mongolian, 300,000 Dravidians, &c. (dark-skinned, straight-haired, well-featured Asiatics, compounded mainly of Caucasian and Australoid elements), and 10,000,000 Amerindians (who are probably an ancient mingling between the Caucasian and the Mongol).

Of these 135,000,000 negroes and negroids, some 109,000,000 live in Africa, 24,000,000 in the New World, and perhaps 2,000,000 in India, the Andaman Islands, Malay Peninsula, Philippines, New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, Neu Pommern, and Oceania generally. It is noteworthy that with the doubtful exception of the Mongolian (as represented by the very mixed population of Japan, an Empire which contains much "white" blood of ancient stock over an Asiatic negroid strain), the negro is the only non-Caucasian race which has so far furnished rivals to the white man in science, the arts, literature, and mathematics. So far—excepting a few Dravidians, Amerindians, and Japanese, all of these half-brothers of the white man—the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and aboriginal America have kept themselves to themselves, and have never ventured to compete with the white man in his own sphere. But a negro has now been to the North Pole, and there are famous negro or negroid painters, musicians, novelists, botanists, legists, philologists,

philosophers, mathematicians, engineers, and general officers whose work is done in the white world and in emulation with the first talent of Europe and America. Here on the French Riviera, where this paper is being finished, negro chauffeurs are much *en évidence* because of their skilful and careful driving.

The negro will probably die out in Asia (though leaving in the new peoples of Polynesia and Malaysia and India an ineffaceable trace of his former presence in the land); but in Africa and in America he has a very important part to play, and he may even permeate the life of Europe in the coming centuries.

France has become an African Power of the first magnitude, with a negro army of forty thousand men. Britain and Germany look more and more to Africa for their commerce and the raw material of their industries. The ten million negroes and negroids in the United States occupy in that country a position of capital importance in industry and agriculture.

[Paper submitted in English.]

NATIVE RACES OF SOUTH AFRICA

By J. TENGO JABAVU, *Kingwilliamstown, South Africa.*

AT the extreme south of Africa, co-extensive with and outside the Union, there exists a large population of aborigines, estimated, approximately, at six million. They have proudly arrogated to themselves the name *Bantu* (people), in the same manner as the early Aryans assumed their name. Those who do not answer to this description are superciliously designated either by their colour or by some striking peculiarity in their physique. Thus the now extinct Bushmen (*Batwa*) and decayed Hottentots, whom the Bantu met about three or four centuries back in their noiseless but certain migration from the north to the south, they contemptuously described as *ama Lawu* and *Abatwa* by reason of their diminutive stature, and the white man was called *Umlungu* after the colour of his skin.

Abantu readily divide themselves into two great families—Abesutho and Abantu—about equal in numbers, the *abe* and *aba*, in both words being the plural nominative form, and the root word being *tho* and *ntu*. What divides them is their language, the one being as different from the other as German is from Dutch. They would appear to have moved down along parallel lines, the *Bantu* hugging the east coast, while the *Besutho* kept to the central table-land, the language of the latter being greatly affected by the negro races they met or assimilated along their course.

They were a strong, healthy, virile people, devoted to the chase, and depending on their domesticated animals for their livelihood. They appear to have evolved political organisations and systems of law and jurisprudence that observers sometimes deem superior to those that European civilisations have developed, notwithstanding the old civilisations of the latter. The fact that their laws and legal practice have sustained them through the long dark night that has enveloped Africa, and that the dawn finds them healthy and strong, free from malignant, infectious diseases of the blood, and other plagues so common to civilised communities, is added testimony to the effectiveness of their code of morals and mode of life. It is generally conceded that in their original state the standard of morality was very high—so high that crimes of personal violence between the sexes had become so rare that delinquencies were punishable by death. That they were thoroughly inured to law and order is evidenced by their famed docility and law-abiding character, while ready obedience to authority is to this very day rendered, at the instance of the chief or headman, without the need of any local police.

As to strong drink, their habits were uniformly temperate. Although they had their native beer, of little alcoholic strength, it was partaken of only by the grown-up and middle-aged men. To young men and the womenfolk it was entirely prohibited. This fact may also serve to indicate the stage reached by their legislation in regard to a matter that is still exciting the curiosity and exercising the ingenuity of civilised legislatures throughout the world.

In regard to religion they had a deep veneration for a Great Omnipresent, Omnipotent Unknown, and the spirits of their departed fathers were supposed to plead in their behalf concerning all the circumstances of their life. No temples were consequently reared. They neither worshipped the spirits of their fathers, as is commonly supposed, nor was their faith pinned to creatures "in the heaven above, or that are in the earth below, or that are in the water under the earth." In their customs may be discerned much of what one reads in the Pentateuch.

Possibly owing to their pastoral pursuits they reared no substantial cities; nor did they acquire the art of writing. What cultivation of the soil there was, sufficed for their immediate requirements.

Such was the condition of these people when the white man came into contact with them, with his paraphernalia of civilisation. The ruling powers among the Europeans did not then, as now, passionately give themselves over to improving the conditions of their new wards. Content with getting from them what taxes they could

exact, they were satisfied with a policy of *laissez-faire*. Colonists were on the whole not cruel to the natives, although so much may have been made of occasional cases of inhumanity, as to eclipse much of what was good.

To this day, however, one is afraid the average South African European's concern for the native does not go beyond exploiting his labour for his own benefit and advantage. In other spheres he betrays a hardly justifiable dread of him as a possible competitor and superior. The tendency is thus to elbow the Bantu out in what is believed to be self-defence, although to the cool and unprejudiced thinkers South Africa is large and quite capable of containing twice the population of Great Britain without harm to any particular race or individual. Indeed, it seems to be the paucity of the European population, with the inevitable short and circumscribed outlook, that is the bane of South Africa. Affairs have a tendency to be regarded from a personal point of view. The smaller the hamlet, village, or town, the more pronounced are the prejudices and antagonisms towards the aboriginal races; while the larger the cities, the more liberal and tolerant the atmosphere towards these people. The net result of the policy of regarding, or treating, the aborigines as merely beasts of burden has been graphically described by Mr. Merriman, one of the most intellectual statesmen in the Union Parliament, who, from his seat in the House, recently observed:—

“The House little thought what was being done; there were 200,000 on the mines alone, most of them barbarians, from all parts of South Africa gathered together, breaking down their tribal customs, being brought into contact with the most undesirable sort of white men. They picked up the white man's vices and took them back to their kraals, things never dreamed of before. The responsibility lay upon them as the superior race, and must give every Government the greatest concern, and give all members food for thought. They should remember that Johannesburg was a criminal university for these natives. Everything lay in the way these people were treated.”

It is, however, conceded that the Government is doing its best to cope with this peculiar situation, but as yet no distinctly constructive policy for the amelioration of the condition of the natives on the mines has been subjected to the test of time; nor, beyond the regulation for recruiting labour, has the administration attempted any measures for bettering the condition of the Bantu in the way of education, promoting their happiness and contentment, and making it easy for them to do right and difficult to do wrong.

The Parliamentary franchise is conceded to natives in a limited form only in the Cape Province, while the Bantu in three other Provinces of the Union are voteless. The consequence is that the members from the latter only regard themselves as mouthpieces of the whites and care not for the rights and interests of the blacks. It is easy to see that the upshot of this in the long run will be the oppression of the Bantu in those Provinces.

Christian missionaries and missions have so far been the sole philanthropic agencies operating on the primitive conditions of Bantu life. They have been labouring among the people for little short of a century, but have scarcely touched the masses. Of the 6,000,000 it would be safe to say that only half a million have been influenced by them. And it is only now being discovered by missionaries themselves that in pushing on their propaganda they have not always been as wise as they were benevolent. Coming with preconceived notions that they were sent to a barbarous society, they began by denouncing and pulling down every organisation they found in order to rear Christianity on the ruins thereof. No time appears to have been devoted to studying and cataloguing what was good in the tribal laws and customs of the people, with a view to eliminating what was bad and retaining the good. The saving principle in all teaching, of passing from the known to the unknown, was lightly flung to the four winds of heaven. The result has been more or less a breaking up of Bantu society, which now requires earnest and hearty workers to reconstruct it, even from the missionary point of view. Meantime those still uninfluenced are shrinking from an agency that has wrought such evils, and progress is, as it were, blocked for the time being. Here is the conclusion of a missionary of some years' standing on the results up to date. The Rev. W. Y. Stead, of St. Philip's Mission, Grahamstown, says in a letter to a newspaper:—

“It is a great pity that the unhinderable advance of the native races, however slow, could not have been by the development of their own ethics, under the ancient organisation of the clan under the chief, and by helping them to assimilate, as they went forward, what suited their state, in acceptable selections out of the civilisation of Europe; instead of being forced by the crushing power of our strange laws to enter into a condition of mere rapid imitation of what we think is our best, and becomes in them their worst, raising antagonisms and hatred against the white race, or at least irritation instead of trust.

“As I travelled down these many hundreds of miles from the border of Natal, the gradual increase of the influence of our white manners was very visible in many various ways, both among the men and women. The men are now more apt and shrewd, because more educated, with the enlarged intelligence that comes by contact with

the long, widely experienced and scientific people who are now ruling as conquerors. There is no increasing degradation as a people ; there are some lost individuals indeed among them ; but as a people they have not deteriorated ; there is no sign of degeneracy in them as a race physically. The *Batwa* are passed away. The Hottentot tribe, too, is passing away altogether, even in the double-blood fusion of the throng bearing among them many old and honoured names of Holland and France who followed Adam Kok. But the brown race, the *Aba Ntsundu*, have force of character and stamina of breed ; they have not gone down in physique or lessened in numbers. The white man cannot take his arms of precision and blow them off the face of South Africa. Here they must remain. We shall have them always with us, or they will have us."

The question of what can be done to uplift the Bantu is of great importance in the interests of all in South Africa, as the influence of race acts and re-acts mutually. The hope seems to be in education. Education of a kind there is. It is occasionally advertised by imposing statistics, but it is feared much of it is of the character which gives painful demonstration of the dangers of a little education. Nor is the bulk of its recipients keen on acquiring and profiting by it. The solution of the problem seems to consist in instructing the masses in the vernacular, while concentrating on the few who are to be the leaders and uplifters of the rest. Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale fame, was wont to say "Light came from above," meaning that the masses were to be enlightened and helped by certain educated luminaries of their race ; and the immediate task was to train and equip such well. The efficacy of this policy is demonstrated by a native, here and there, who has outstripped his fellows after breaking the chains of environment and drinking deep in education. Such have made a favourable impression not only on their fellows, but also on their European neighbours. They have, moreover, proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt,* that if a Native College were, as is proposed, established to provide a hundred or two well-educated instructors of their people, what looked like an insoluble problem would disappear. On this head a coloured writer recently said :—

"What we have to do is to act for ourselves. In proportion, as our facilities for education are diminished, our efforts on our own behalf must be increased. We must, individually and collectively, do our utmost to see that our people receive the fullest opportunity possible for self-improvement. . . . What we want is a large body of highly trained educationalists of our own people, and these could be gradually secured if we had a fund for assisting deserving young men to obtain the necessary assistance at some qualified College."

But the College is the pressing need, and the Universal Races Congress has a capital opportunity to give needed help to their weaker brothers in South Africa by espousing and furthering the appeal of the South African Native Races for the raising of the remaining £10,000 to train native talent for the great task of uplifting its people. The sum required for the establishment of the College, even on a moderate scale, is £50,000. Including the value of the site, the following amounts have been already received or promised :—

From European sources	...	...	...	...	£22,500
From Native sources	...	...	...	...	17,750
					<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	£40,250

A further sum of £10,000 is thus required.

There is now, as has been said, a pressing need of adequate provision for the training of native teachers for secondary and higher education for natives capable of taking advantage of it. Such teachers cannot secure the required training in South Africa, and have to look to England and America, a system which has been found disadvantageous. The old tribal system is breaking down. With it go the wholesome restraints of tribal law and custom and morality. The results have already been extremely disastrous. Many natives have been demoralised and ruined, and the effects on the white community have been scarcely less deplorable. At this stage the guidance which really educated natives would be able to give to their people might well be of great value. These natives might train their people to meet the new conditions of civilised life, teaching them also improved methods of agriculture and industry.

If the first Races Congress succeeds in helping on the inauguration of the first Native College in South Africa, it will impress itself indelibly on the future of the aboriginal races, as having thrown itself heartily into the laudable effort of ushering in the Dawn into what has long remained in truth the Dark Continent.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE WEST AFRICAN PROBLEM

By PASTOR MOJOLA AGBEBI, D.D., *Lagos*,
Director of the Niger Delta Mission.

General.—The appropriation of the tropical parts of Africa by the European nations has added one more to the race problems confronting Europe. From the African standpoint the African problem presents a twofold aspect—one relating to the question

involved as affecting the European ; another as affecting the African *himself*. The problem for the European obviously involves the objects he has in view in assuming the government of Tropical West Africa, and the means for attaining that object. Such objects resolve themselves into ends political and economic, embodying political sway and a process of commercial or industrial development designed to benefit both the ruler and the ruled. On the African side the problem chiefly relates to the effect which the close contact and dominating influence of Europe will exert upon the African living under primitive conditions, whose mode of life is entirely dissimilar to that of the European, if not actually opposed to it. The resultant effect of bringing two dissimilar life-problems into contact and collision must necessarily be far-reaching, and disturb not a little the morals and the social arrangements of a people whose simple lives and indigenous characteristics render them liable to be easily affected. It is this effect upon his morals, his idea of society, and his view of an All-Father which vests the expropriation of Tropical Africa by the nations of Europe with a problem for the African. The problem is accentuated by the fact that it is the foundation and vital part of African life that is thus affected.

The problem, however, with its many complexities and complications, offers an easy way of being solved successfully if only a measure of sincerity, earnestness, and particularly sympathy is brought to bear on the solution. The tractable character of the African, and his having lived under political systems different from the European organised systems of rule on a large scale, combined with a possible indifference here and there to formal governments, ought to make the political object of the European nations easy of attainment. The one essential feature in the premises would be to make the political yoke as light as possible, in order that it might not bear too heavily upon a people quite unaccustomed to it. The difference between the social laws and institutions of Africa as contrasted with those of Europe, and exemplified in the absence from the former of policemen and detectives, bolts and bars, ought to suggest the prudence of modifying social methods which carry such factors as accessories. The absence of any arrangement for enforcing compulsory restraint denotes emphatically order and right living on the part of the people sought to be governed. It would seem that the simplicity of the political part of the problem for the European is really what has rendered it complex and bewildering for him. Accustomed to a *régime* of government altogether different, which calls for the exercise of restraint as its chief controlling factor, the European finds it difficult to divest himself of prejudice to European ways in his dealing with

the African. And this prejudice is sustained, as it were, by reason of the fact that European rule over the African is based upon the principle of might, from which the idea of force is inseparable. Circumstances alter cases, however, in every domain of human energy and activity, and if this idea were prominently kept in view the solution of the political problem to which Europe is committed in regard to Tropical Africa would be rendered much more easy. If Europe could realise that its political rôle in Tropical Africa entailed dealing with a new and altogether different set of circumstances which chiefly called for the exercise of sympathy and patience to study and understand, and the readiness to deal with them upon the basis of the knowledge gained of them, there can be no doubt that the problem would be solved in both its political and economic aspects to the advantage of both European and African.

The exercise of sympathy and patience would avail to bring the European and African closer together, thus promoting that unity and co-operation which are essential and indispensable, imparting consolidation to European rule, and communicating stimulus and progress to economic development.

The cardinal essential in both cases is the cultivation of knowledge of the African; such knowledge as is calculated to engender respect and consideration for him and his institutions. Where such knowledge is acquired, it will reveal the effects which the complex and artificial systems of European life are calculated to produce upon the moral and other conditions of a people addicted to simple living. The lack of knowledge of the effects wrought, and the unremitting help lent them in consequence, have invested the African problem with grave consequences for the African. The introduction of the usages and institutions of European life into the African social system has resulted in a disordering and a dislocation of the latter which threatens to overthrow the system altogether and produce a state of social anarchy. Dire evidence of the resultant social chaos is to be found in the total breakdown of parental control, and the advent of a life of wild licence mistakenly taken to mean the rightful exercise of the rights and prerogatives of individual liberty, as defined and permitted under the customs and usages of European life. This fatal mistake, with the fundamental fallacy it involves of abnegating African social laws on the part of Europeanised Africans, growing out of the dislike and contempt for which unfamiliarity with African customs on the part of the European is largely responsible, comprises a phase of the African problem which calls urgently for attention and consideration. Social organisations are the outgrowth of a people's life, and, founded more or less upon innate racial characteristics, are incapable of being transferred from one people of a

certain type to another of a different type and condition. The phrase "state of transition" usually applied to people who are supposed to be affected by passing social conditions, but who really are in the unfortunate dilemma of having their social order of life dislocated by the introduction of a foreign order, really implies a state of transition from a regular order of life ingrained in a people and practised by them, to a social whirlpool of confusion and disorder, where there is not sufficient material for, or the materials which exist do not contribute to, social reconstruction. On the other hand, there is the powerful and irresistible current of man's wild will and passions arrayed against reconstruction and social regulation. It is conceivable what a state of social anarchy means in the sense of moral deterioration, with its concomitant of physical impairment. By most positive and impressive evidences the African has come to feel that this is the heritage which the African problem entails for him, a heritage due to lack of knowledge of and contempt for his institutions and customs, and also for the life-problems founded upon these customs and institutions.

Inter-racial Marriage.—No un-Europeanised native of Tropical Africa seeks intermarriage with white people. Commercial intercourse and other unavoidable contact with white people may lead to a progeny of mixed blood, but no Tropical African pure and simple is inclined to marry a European or appreciates mixed marriages.

Segregation.—The fad of segregation in social gatherings and religious worship recently brought into prominence by the imprudent and impolitic among white people is not distasteful to the un-Europeanised African. The great Architect of the Universe has originally "determined the bounds of the habitation" of every race of man. The African has not overstepped those bounds to seek fellowship, social, religious, or otherwise, with white people. It is a matter of ridicule to the African therefore that white people should not only trespass into Africa, but come there to propound the doctrine of segregation which Nature has all along placed boundless seas and countless barriers to indicate. The unsophisticated African entertains aversion to white people, and when, on accidentally or unexpectedly meeting a white man he turns or takes to his heels, it is because he feels that he has come upon some unusual or unearthly creature, some hobgoblin, ghost, or sprite; and when he does not look straight in a white man's face, it is because he believes in the "evil eye," and that an aquiline nose, scant lips, and cat-like eyes afflict him. The Yoruba word for a European means a peeled man, and to many an African the white man exudes some rancid odour not agreeable to his olfactory nerves.

Moreover, Europeans are regarded as plague carriers. The

plagues hitherto known to the people of Tropical Africa are very few, and are subject to already known treatments ; but the advent of an influx of Europeans is regarded with evil foreboding by a great many, owing to the plagues and diseases that follow in their wake, and to which Africans are strangers. Witness bubonic plague, syphilis, cholera, and others.

Secret Societies.—Secret societies are many in Africa, and are founded for many and various reasons. If carefully investigated, it will possibly be discovered that the secret societies of Europe and other Western peoples took their rise from Africa.

The rites and ceremonies of some secret societies in Africa tally in a large measure with some of those in Europe, and while many secret societies in Europe can show no greater uses than occasional deeds of benevolence, *post-mortem* benefactions, encouraging temperance and thrift, some secret societies in Africa are cults for initiation into the mysteries of womanhood, for teaching the art of midwifery and motherhood, to inaugurate funeral obsequies, to inculcate the principle of immortality or life after death, some to fulfil the rôle of a national court of appeal, some to protect trade, others to preserve national pedigree or tribal dignity, some to assist men, others to assist women, and all for, as believed by the promoters, the general well-being of society. Freemasonry in its most exalted degrees can show no better or more innocent rites than those of some of the secret societies of Africa. The principle is the same. Even when their deeds may not be branded as evil, “men love darkness rather than light” for secret society purposes. The more a man proceeds to the higher degrees in Freemasonry the more undignified, should I not say degraded, are the rites he has to perform, and Freemasonry is regarded as a European production and not African. Freemasonry as a secret society excludes women from its membership ; but in Africa there are not only secret societies formed of and by men, but there are also secret societies formed of and by women. Sometimes a place of importance in a man’s secret society is filled by a woman. In Freemasonry even men who are not members are not admitted into its lodges ; but in the Egungun and the Oro, African secret societies in the Lagos district, men of whatever colour and clime can enter the grove and pass free and unmolested through a whole town which is “under orders” from one or other of these secret societies.

Human Sacrifice.—Human sacrifice in Africa is based on strictly religious principles. There is no wanton massacre of human lives or uncalled-for immolation of men. European intervention has put a stop to it in many parts. But it should be understood that it represents the highest of human motives, though Self-sacrifice—the sacrifice

of one's self—is superior to it. Self-sacrifice, however, is also human sacrifice. Christianity is based on human sacrifice, its Founder being “the Lamb slain from the foundations of the world.”

Ancestral and Hero-worship.—Ancestral and hero-worship, styled “heathenism” or “fetishism,” abound in many parts of Nigeria. Respect for the aged and for all who are older than one's self is a cardinal virtue in Tropical Africa. Shango, Oya, Shponna of the Yorubas, Atakunmosa Obokun, Iyarere, Oluwashe of the Ijeshus were national heroes, and on the Niger Delta every family has its ancestral fane. The worship of these may or may not be accompanied with visible or material symbols, and Jesus Christ is the highest type of a hero.

Witchcraft.—To the man of Tropical Africa European spiritualism is a form of witchcraft, and hypnotism, mesmerism, telepathy, mind or thought reading, mental attraction, clairvoyance or second sight, black arts, the evil eye, conjuration of Satan, low occultism, charms, spells, poisoning, &c., are all comprised under what the man of Africa calls “witchcraft,” and, except for European intervention, are more or less visited with the death penalty whenever the exercise of them raises suspicion of criminality.

Cannibalism.—Cannibalism is not general in Africa. What led some communities to institute a sacrifice of human victims led other communities to go a step further and turn the sacrifice into what they consider profitable use by solemnly partaking of it as a sacrament. In some cases victims of human sacrifice consider it more honourable to be eaten by men to whom they are supposed to be imparting some virtue or for whom they are fulfilling some indispensable and important function, than to be devoured by senseless and ignominious worms. The eating of human or non-human flesh differs only in kind, and human flesh is said to be the most delicious of all viands; superior in culinary taste to the flesh of either bird, beast, fish, or creeping things. Christianity itself is a superstructure of cannibalism. The Founder of the Faith is recorded to have said, “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.” In administering the Lord's Supper to converts from cannibalism I have often felt some uneasiness in repeating the formula, “Take, eat, this is my body,” and the other “This is my blood.”

Marriage in Africa.—Plural marriage is the social law of Africa. It is the basis of political economy and human happiness in the country. Single marriage is sin in Africa, and plural marriage is righteousness. The woman inherits her husband's property in Europe; but in Africa woman is property, and is subject to in-

heritance as other property. It is on record in the Christian Scriptures that—

“There were with us seven brethren ; and the first, when he had married a wife deceased, and having no issue, left his wife unto his brother. Likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seventh. And last of all the woman died also. Therefore in the resurrection whose wife shall she be of the seven ? for they all had her.”

She was their property. In the social and religious economy of Africa, therefore, it would be wise to recognise the social laws of the country and to deal with plural marriage as the foundation of the home and, consequently, of abiding welfare in the country. In Tropical Africa no un-Europeanised woman desires to live alone in her husband's house. She prefers to have company, and often plans and paves the way for such company. So-called “holy matrimony” has placed human life in jeopardy in Africa. “In the midst of life we are in death.” By single marriage many marriage beds have been defiled and “holy matrimony” rendered unholy by the unrestrained and criminal liberties taken by monogamic husbands under the sanction of European law, while their children are in the womb and while they are at the breasts. Men are reduced below the level of the brutes that perish.

The doctrine of plural marriage in Africa does not stand in the way of the progress of womanhood in any of the activities of human life. Careful and sympathetic inquiry will reveal the fact that women have not only been rulers, leaders, “mothers in Israel,” priestesses and heroines in Africa, but have also been deified after their death and worshipped by men and women alike. The homage paid to womanhood in Africa is the homage of worth, not of words, of love not of law. Unless perhaps as a religious leader, officer or functionary, or as a man of poor means, the African as a rule will publicly or privately always be a polygamist.

Islam.—Islam has been up to the present not less than one thousand three hundred years in Africa. Christianity, the earliest European form of it, is not much above one hundred years old. Ought not Christianity to learn from her older and more experienced rival? May not a man learn even from an enemy? Islam in Africa is a demonstrative and attractive faith. It is a religion, the only religion which, besides Christianity, boasts of a literature that lays claim to Divine inspiration. Both the Christian and Moslem scriptures promise material joys to the faithful after death—“golden streets,” “pearly gates,” “beauteous maidens.” Christianity and Islam have many things in common, and many of our own relatives and friends are followers of the prophet of Mecca, as some of us are followers of Jesus of Nazareth. Islam is a per-

manent faith in Africa. Its calls to prayer, its manner of praying, its annual fasts, its annual feasts, which are all subject to ocular demonstration, appeal to high and low alike from day to day. Its adaptation to the social laws, domestic arrangements, religious aspiration, political ambition, intellectual aptitude, mental energy, and racial instincts of the people, is no longer a matter of dispute. The African is no big child, no child-race, according to the current expression of some Europeans; but a full-fledged man in the "eternal providence" of the world. He may be a child in respect of European greed and aggrandisement, European subtlety and guile, European trespasses and sins; but he is not a child to his creation or to the law of his being.

Five times a day from turrets and minarets Islam's call to prayer startles Africa, demanding attention from dawn to dark, and Christianity in its best form, whatever that may be, has not presented a formula more arousing than

Rise, ye believers!
Prayer is better than sleep,
Prayer is better than sleep.

The object of the Universal Races Congress is to cultivate mutual knowledge and respect between Occidental and Oriental peoples, including even the lowliest ones. The triumph of the principles for which the Congress stands will, I believe, go a long way towards the solution of the African problem.

[*Paper submitted in English.*]

THE NEGRO RACE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA¹

By Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, *New York,*
Late Professor of History and Political Economy in Atlanta
University, United States.

THERE were in 1900 in the United States and its dependencies 8,840,789 persons of acknowledged Negro descent. To-day the number is probably ten millions. These persons are almost entirely descendants of the African slaves brought to America in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

I. *The Slave Trade.*—The African slave trade to America arose from the desire of the Spanish and other nations to exploit rapidly the resources of the New World. The attempt to use the native races for this purpose failed because of the weakness and comparative scarcity of the Indians. Conditions

¹ Owing to its special value, this paper is published in full; but owing to its great length and the limited space at our disposal, it appears in smaller type.—EDITOR.

in Africa, on the other hand, favoured the organisation of the slave traffic. A strong Negro-Arabian civilisation in the Soudan had forced back the barbarians to the fever-cursed Centre and West, and there the stronger and fiercer Bantu and other nations dominated and enslaved the weaker tribes. The coming of the Portuguese in the middle of the fifteenth century was the occasion of transporting some of these slaves to Portugal, and from this, in time, came the slave trade to the West Indies.

The African slave trade soon became a profitable venture, for which the Portuguese, Dutch, and English competed. Finally, in 1714, the English secured a virtual monopoly of the North American trade and poured large numbers of slaves into the West. The exact number of slaves imported is not known. Dunbar estimates that nearly 900,000 came to America in the sixteenth century, 2,750,000 in the seventeenth, 7,000,000 in the eighteenth, and over 4,000,000 in the nineteenth, perhaps 15,000,000 in all. It goes without saying that the cruelty incident in this forced migration of men was very great. For a long time the policy of the slave owners was to kill off the Negroes by over-work and buy more. Family life was impossible, there being few women imported, and sexual promiscuity and concubinage ensued. When finally, for physical and moral reasons, the supply of slaves began to fall off a new development began.

II. *Growth and Physique of the Negro-American Population.*—The growth of the Negro population in the English colonies in America may be estimated as follows :—

1710	...	...	...	...	50,000
1725	...	...	...	...	75,000
1750	...	...	...	...	220,000
1754	...	...	...	...	260,000
1760	...	...	...	...	310,000
1770	...	...	...	...	462,000
1780	...	...	...	...	462,000

The United States censuses give the following figures :—

Date.	Total Negroes.	Per Cent. of Increase.	Per Cent. of Increase of Whites.	Per Cent. of Negroes in Total Population.
1790	757,208	—	—	19'27
1800	1,002,037	32'33	35'76	18'88
1810	1,377,808	37'50	36'12	19'03
1820	1,771,656	28'59	34'12	18'39
1830	2,328,642	31'44	34'03	18'10
1840	2,873,648	23'40	34'72	16'84
1850	3,638,808	26'63	37'74	15'69
1860	4,441,830	22'07	37'69	14'13
1870	4,880,009	9'86	24'76	12'66
1880	6,580,793	34'85	29'22	13'12
1890	7,488,789	13'79	26'68	11'93
1900	8,840,789	18'1	21'4	11'6
1910	10,000,000 (estimated)	—	—	—

The census of 1870 was defective, and probably that of 1890 also, which would explain the chief irregularities in the rate of increase of Negroes. The higher rate of increase of the whites is due mainly to the large immigration.

The present so-called "Negro" population of the United States is :—

1. A mixture of the various African populations—Bantu, Soudanese, West

Coast Negroes, some dwarfs, &c. There are traces of Arab and Semitic blood.

2. A mixture of these strains with the blood of white Americans through a long system of concubinage of coloured women in slavery days together with some legal intermarriage. The official figures for mulattoes are as follows :—

1850, mulattoes formed 11·2 per cent. of the total Negro population.

1860, mulattoes formed 13·2 per cent. of the total Negro population.

1870, mulattoes formed 12 per cent. of the total Negro population.

1890, mulattoes formed 15·2 per cent. of the total Negro population.

Or in actual numbers :—

1850, 405,751 mulattoes.

1860, 588,352 mulattoes.

1870, 585,601 mulattoes.

1890, 1,132,060 mulattoes.

These figures are of doubtful validity and officially acknowledged to be misleading. From observation and local studies in all parts of the United States I am inclined to believe that at least one-third of the Negroes of the United States have distinct traces of white blood, and there is also a large amount of Negro blood in the white population. This blending of the races has led to new and interesting human types, but race prejudice has hitherto prevented any scientific study of the matter.

Scientific physical measurements of Negro-Americans have not been made on any sufficiently large scale for valuable conclusions to be formed.

The Negro population shows, so far as known, a greater death-rate than the white. Throughout the registration area of the United States the figures are :—

DEATH-RATE PER 1,000 LIVING, UNITED STATES REGISTRATION AREA.

				1890.		1900.
Coloured	...	...	...	29·9	...	29·6
White	...	...	...	19·1	...	17·3

These figures apply to only 1¼ million of the Negro population, and those mainly in cities. Of the death-rate of the mass of the population living in the country we know nothing. The chief causes of death among Negroes are : Consumption, pneumonia, nervous disorders, malaria, and infant mortality. The figures are :—

DEATHS PER 100,000 LIVING NEGROES.

				1890.		1900.
Consumption	...	...	...	546	...	485
Pneumonia	...	...	...	279	...	355
Nervous disorders	...	...	...	333	...	308
Malaria	...	...	...	72	...	63

To every 1,000 living coloured children, there were each year the following number who died :—

CHILDREN UNDER 1 YEAR OF AGE.

				1890.		1900.
Registration States	...	...	...	458	...	344
Cities	...	...	...	580	...	397
Country	...	...	...	204	...	219

The birth-rate is conjectural :—

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE TO 1,000 FEMALES 15 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE FOR THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.

		White.	Coloured.	Excess of Coloured.
1900	474	465	543	78
1890	485	473	574	101
1880	559	537	706	169
1870	572	562	641	79
1860	634	627	675	48
1850	626	613	694	81
1840*		744	—	
1830*		781	—	

Women 15 to 49 years of age.

From this we may conclude :—

1. The Negro birth-rate exceeds and has always exceeded the white birth-rate.

2. The Negro birth-rate probably decreased largely until 1870; then it possibly increased somewhat, and afterwards rapidly decreased.

3. The Negro birth-rate in the country districts is high. In the city it is low because of the immigrant character of the population.

In general the Negro population of the United States is brown in colour, darkening to almost black and shading off in the other directions to yellow and white, indistinguishable in many cases from the white population. The race is strong and virile, and, although hard pressed by economic and mental strain, is more than holding its own.

III. *Social History*.—Negroes came to America with the early explorers, and they took some part in exploration. Stephen Dorantes, a Negro of the Fray Marcos Expedition, was the discoverer of the South-Western part of North America; and there were many Negroes with Balboa, Pizarro, D'Ayllon, and Cortez. As the Dutch and English slave trade of the seventeenth century poured in larger numbers of Negroes, the question of their control and organisation became serious. They were carefully mixed by race and language so as to prevent conspiracy, and worked in gangs by severe taskmasters. This led to repeated revolts throughout the islands and on the Continent. Only two of these were large and successful—that of the Maroons in Jamaica in the seventeenth century, and of Touissant L'Ouverture in Hayti in the eighteenth century.

The moral theory of early Negro slavery was that the heathen were by this means brought to Christianity, and efforts were gradually made to convert them. The result was that after slow and hesitating advance the slaves were by the middle of the nineteenth century nominal Christians, and spoke the English tongue. The work of conversion and uplift was, however, greatly retarded by the rapid importation of Negroes after the Assiento treaty between England and Spain in 1714. England forced slaves on the colonies, and found them at first complacent; but at last they were frightened, and a distinct moral revolt against the system arose.

Finally a sort of new American feudalism was evolved out of which free Negroes from time to time escaped into the full privileges of freemen.

This was the situation at the time of the War for Independence with England. Probably ten thousand Negro soldiers fought for the independence

of the American colonies, and they were recognised as citizens. The undoubted thought of the founders of the Republic was that slavery would gradually die out, and the Negroes either become American citizens or migrate to Africa. This assumption received encouragement by the economic failure of slavery in the North and the emancipation of slaves.

Among the Negroes there were signs of awakening. The freedmen began to demand the ballot in Massachusetts and to organise churches and associations in Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania, and some black persons of distinction arose like Benjamin Banneker, the almanac maker, and Phillis Wheatley, the poet. Negroes fought in the war of 1812—there being black sailors with Perry and McDonough, and four hundred coloured soldiers with Jackson at New Orleans. About this time, too, definite steps were taken to suppress the slave trade from Africa.

Gradually, however, the strength of this liberal movement waned as the importance of the cotton crop increased. Signs of increased severity against slaves were manifest, and several slave revolts were attempted, that of Nat Turner, in 1831, being the most bloody.

From 1830 on the South took a new tone and began to defend slavery as an economic system against the growing attacks of the abolitionists, while the systematic running away of slaves gave rise to bitterness and recrimination. The free Negroes began to meet in conventions, the anti-slavery crusade was organised, and gradually slavery became the burning political issue. Negro leaders like Frederick Douglass now came forward, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published, fugitive slaves increased in number, and the nation was in a ferment.

When the civil war broke out because of the slavery issue, Negro soldiers were at first refused, but eventually two hundred thousand were enlisted, and even the South tried to arm the slaves.

From the first these slaves were a source of weakness and apprehension to the South. During most of the war the blacks remained quiet, and protected the white women and children while the masters were in the field fighting for their enslavement. Gradually, however, the meaning of the war dawned on them and they began to run away and join the Northern armies. Finally, as a war measure, the mass of them were emancipated, and this was later confirmed by a constitutional amendment.

When after the declaration of peace the question of the protection of the new freedmen arose, the nation paused in puzzled hesitation. Three courses were open :—

(a) To leave the Negroes to the mercy of the whites, on condition that the whites accepted the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

(b) To put the Negroes under special guardianship designed to help them as labourers, educate them, and secure justice for them in the courts.

(c) To give the Negroes the power of self-protection by insisting on full manhood suffrage in the States with any restrictions the State wished to impose except restrictions based on "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude."

The first method was tried by Johnson. The result was a series of "black codes" which practically restored Negro slavery in almost every essential except name. As Carl Schurz reported :—

"Some planters held back their former slaves on their plantations by brute force. Armed bands of white men patrolled the country roads to drive back the Negroes wandering about. Dead bodies of murdered Negroes were found on and near the highways and by-paths. Gruesome reports came from the hospitals—reports of coloured men and women whose ears had been cut off, whose skulls had been broken by blows, whose bodies had been slashed by

knives or lacerated with scourges. A number of such cases I had occasion to examine myself. A veritable reign of terror prevailed in many parts of the South. The Negro found scant justice in the local courts against the white man. He could look for protection only to the military forces of the United States still garrisoning the 'States lately in rebellion,' and to the Freedmen's Bureau."

The second method was tried in the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, but the North demurred at the cost, the South complained at the principle, and the Bureau itself was not well managed. The Government was, therefore, as a last resort, literally forced to the third method which involved Negro voters. The argument for this was thus stated by Carl Schurz :—

"The emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up. But although the freedman is no longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all independent State legislation will share the tendency to make him such.

"The solution of the problem would be very much facilitated by enabling all the loyal and free-labour elements in the South to exercise a healthy influence upon legislation. It will hardly be possible to secure the freedman against oppressive class legislation and private persecution, unless he be endowed with a certain measure of political power."

To the argument of ignorance Schurz replied :—

"The effect of the extension of the franchise to the coloured people upon the development of free labour and upon the security of human rights in the South being the principle object in view, the objections raised on the ground of the ignorance of the freedmen become unimportant. Practical liberty is a good school. . . . It is idle to say that it will be time to speak of Negro suffrage when the whole coloured race will be educated, for the ballot may be necessary to him to secure his education."

The Negroes themselves said to President Johnson through their spokesman, Frederick Douglass :—

"Your noble and humane predecessor placed in our hands the sword to assist in saving the nation, and we do hope that you, his able successor, will favourably regard the placing in our hands the ballot with which to save ourselves."

The result of the new basis of suffrage was at first demoralisation. The better class of Southern whites refused to take part in government even when they could, and the new and ignorant Negro voters were delivered into the hands of Northern and Southern demagogues, who looted the State treasuries. Finally, however, the Negroes secured a better class of white and Negro leaders, revolted from the carnival of stealing, and began honest advance and reform. They succeeded in giving to the new South :—

1. A more democratic form of government.
2. Free public schools.
3. The beginnings of a new social legislation.

Before this work was finished they were intimidated and put out of power by force and fraud, but as a prominent white leader said :—

"During their ascendancy they obeyed the Constitution of the United States. . . . They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks, and other

barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law. Every Democrat's life, home, fireside, and business were safe. No man obstructed any white man's way to the ballot box, interfered with his freedom of speech, or boycotted him on account of his political faith."

Despite this, the South was determined to deprive the Negroes of political power and force them to occupy the position of a labouring caste.

This was done first by open intimidation, murder, and fraud, through secret societies like the Ku Klux Klan. Finally, beginning in 1890, a new set of disfranchising laws were passed. These laws ostensibly disfranchised the ignorant and poor, but they allowed poor and ignorant whites to vote by a provision known as the "grandfather clause," which admitted to the polls any person whose father or grandfather had the right to vote before the coloured men were enfranchised. At the same time, these laws excluded from the polls not only the ignorant, but nearly all the intelligent Negroes, by making the local registrars judicial officers from whose decision as to fitness there was practically no appeal. These registrars were, of course, invariably white.

With this legislation have gone various restrictive laws to curtail the social, civil, and economic freedom of all persons of Negro descent. The question as to the validity and advisability of these laws, and as to the development of the freedom under them, and speculation as to the future of the race in America constitutes the Negro problem.

IV. *Social Condition of the Negro-American.*—After such a social history, what is the present social condition of the ten millions of persons of Negro descent in the United States, fully one-third of whom have more or less white blood? We may best consider this under certain sub-heads:—

(a) *Distribution.*—The distribution of the Negro American population is very uneven, the coloured people being largely concentrated in the former slave States of the South-East.

In the last decade—1900–1910—there has been a considerable migration from country to city and from North to South, which will change these maps to some extent. The relation of the Negro to cities in 1900 is shown by this table from the census:—

POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND CLASS OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND PER CENT. OF DISTRIBUTION, 1900.

Class of Place of Residence.	Number of Cities, 1900.	White.	Negro.
Continental United States	—	66,809,196	8,833,994
Cities having at least 2,500 inhabitants	1,861	28,506,146	2,004,121
Cities having a Population of—			
100,000 and over	38	13,507,327	668,254
25,000 to 100,000	122	5,021,827	468,209
8,000 to 25,000	385	4,866,928	399,295
4,000 to 8,000	612	3,098,048	274,492
2,500 to 4,000	704	2,012,016	193,871
Country districts	—	38,303,050	6,829,873

PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION BY CLASS OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE, 1900.

Class of Place of Residence.	White.	Negro.
Continental United States	100'0	100'0
Cities having at least 2,500 inhabitants	42'7	22'7
Cities having a Population of—		
100,000 and over	20'2	7'6
25,000 to 100,000	7'5	5'3
8,000 to 25,000	7'3	4'5
4,000 to 8,000	4'7	3'1
2,500 to 4,000	3'0	2'2
Country districts	57'3	77'3

NUMBER AND PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES BY DIVISION OF RESIDENCE, 1900.

	Negro Population, 1900.	Per Cent. of Negro Population of Continental United States Living in Specified Division, 1900.
Continental United States ...	8,833,994	100'0
North Atlantic Division—	385,020	4'4
New England	59,099	0'7
Southern North Atlantic	325,921	3'7
South Atlantic Division—	3,729,017	42'2
Northern South Atlantic	1,056,684	12'0
Southern South Atlantic	2,672,333	30'2
North Central Division—	495,751	5'6
Eastern North Central...	257,842	2'9
Western North Central	237,909	2'7
South Central Division—	4,193,952	47'5
Eastern South Central...	2,499,886	28'3
Western South Central	1,694,066	19'2
Western Division—	30,254	0'3
Rocky Mountain	12,936	0'1
Basin and Plateau	2,651	(*)
Pacific	14,664	0'2

* Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

(b) *Sex, Age, and Conjugal Condition.*—In the sex statistics of Negro-Americans one can see easily their social history—the disproportionate number of male slaves imported, the killing of the men during the Civil War and later, &c.

PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES IN EVERY 10,000.

DATE.	NEGROES.		WHITES.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1820	5,082	4,918	5,080	4,920
1830	5,074	4,926	5,077	4,923
1840	5,014	4,986	5,090	4,910
1850	4,978	5,022	5,104	4,896
1860	4,990	5,010	5,116	4,884
1870	4,905	5,095	5,056	4,944
1880	4,942	5,057	5,088	4,912
1890	4,986	5,014	5,121	4,879
1900	4,969	5,030	5,108	4,892

The median age of Negroes has increased as follows :—

MEDIAN AGE OF THE COLOURED POPULATION, CLASSIFIED,
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES : 1790 TO 1900.

1900	19'70	1850	17'33
1890	17'83	1840	17'27
1880	18'01	1830	16'90
1870	18'49	1820	17'75
1860	17'65		

The general age composition is as follows by percentage :—

NATIVE WHITES.

	Under 15.	15-59.	60 and Over.
1880	42'6	52'9	4'9
1890	40'0	54'8	5'2
1900	39'0	55'8	5'2

COLOURED.

	Under 15.	15-59.	60 and Over.
1880	44'2	51'2	4'6
1890	42'1	53'3	4'6
1900	39'5	55'6	4'9

The conjugal condition by sex and age is as follows :—

PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION BY CONJUGAL CONDITION FOR THE NEGRO
POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS : 1900 AND 1890.

AGE PERIOD.	PER CENT. OF NEGRO MALE POPULATION, 1900.		
	Single and Unknown	Married.	Widowed and Divorced.
Continental United States—			
15 years and over ...	39'8	54'0	6'2
15 to 19 years ...	98'2	1'7	0'1
20 to 24 years ...	64'9	33'8	1'3
25 to 29 years ...	33'4	63'3	3'3
30 to 34 years ...	21'4	73'7	4'9
35 to 44 years ...	13'5	79'1	7'4
45 to 54 years ...	7'4	81'4	11'2
55 to 64 years ...	5'5	78'6	15'9
65 years and over ...	5'0	69'6	25'4
Age unknown ...	46'7	47'4	5'9

These statistics can be appreciated only when we remember that there could be no legal family relations among slaves, and that the family therefore is an institution only a generation old for the mass of the coloured people. There are consequently still an abnormally large number of "widowed and separated," while economic pressure and sexual irregularity is setting the age of marriage very late. The improvement in family life in twenty-five years has, however, been enormous.

The average size of the Negro family is about five persons to-day. The percentage of illegitimacy is not accurately known, but is apparently about 20 per cent. in a city like Washington, D.C., which has 100,000 negroes. It is, without doubt, rapidly decreasing.

(c) *Education*.—According to the United States census, the illiteracy of Negro-Americans has been as follows for persons ten years of age and over :—

1870	...	...	...	...	...	79.9	per cent.
1880	...	...	...	...	...	70.0	„
1890	...	...	...	...	...	57.1	„
1900	...	...	...	...	...	44.5	„

Probably to-day about two-thirds of the Negro population can at least write their names and read to some extent.

In the Northern States, with few exceptions, the coloured children attend the general public schools. In the former slave States, where the negro population is massed, there are two separate systems of schools, one for the Negroes and one for the whites. Both systems are supported by public taxation and are supposed to offer equal facilities. As a matter of fact, while the Negroes form one-third of the school population they receive less than one-fifth of the school funds, except in the district of Columbia and in a few cities.

The result is a very inferior and inadequate set of Negro public schools with poor teachers, and poor superintendence. The attitude of the mass of southern whites is still inimical to schools for Negroes, and since the new disfranchisement laws the Negro schools have been more than usually neglected.

As a partial compensation for this neglect on the part of the States there are 132 private institutions for educating Negroes ; a few of these receive State and national aid, but most of them are supported by private philanthropy, endowments, and tuition fees. They antedate the public schools for Negroes and represent the original educational foundations which were established by the various church and philanthropic agencies directly after the Civil War.

They are of all degrees of efficiency. Some, like Atlanta, Fisk, Howard Universities, rank as small colleges and high schools doing work of a high grade. Others are high and normal schools. Some, like Hampton and Tuskegee, are trade and agricultural schools, and are rather more favoured by the South than the other schools.

These private institutions have over 40,000 pupils and 2,400 teachers, and represent an investment of \$14,000,000, and an expenditure of \$2,100,000 a year, of which the Negroes themselves pay about 30 per cent. In these schools most of the teachers and professional men and many of the artisans among Negroes have been trained. Their chief hindrance to-day is lack of sufficient funds for their growing work.

There are beside these some 200 small private elementary schools supported entirely by Negroes mostly through their Churches. They are designed to supplement poor public schools.

(d) *Occupations*.—Of the Negroes in the United States in 1900 there were 3,992,337 ten years of age and over who were in gainful occupations, or 45.2 per cent. of the total Negro population. The chief occupations were :—

OCCUPATION.

Continental United States—all occupations	...	...	...	3,992,337
Occupations giving employment to at least 10,000	...	...	...
Negroes in 1900	...	...	...	3,807,008
Agricultural labourers	...	...	...	1,344,125
Farmers, planters, and overseers	...	...	...	757,822
Labourers (not specified)...	...	...	...	545,935
Servants and waiters	...	...	...	465,734
Launderers and laundresses	...	...	...	220,104
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, &c.	...	...	...	67,585
Steam railroad employees	...	...	...	55,327
Miners and quarrymen	...	...	...	36,561

Saw and planing mill employees	...	...	...	...	33,266
Porters and helpers (in stores, &c.)	...	...	...	...	28,977
Teachers and professors in colleges, &c.	...	...	...	...	21,267
Carpenters and joiners	...	...	...	...	21,113
Turpentine farmers and labourers	...	...	...	...	20,744
Barbers and hairdressers...	...	...	...	...	19,942
Nurses and midwives	...	...	...	...	19,431
Clergymen	...	...	...	...	15,528
Tobacco and cigar factory operatives...	...	...	...	...	15,349
Hostlers	...	...	...	...	14,496
Masons (brick and stone)	...	...	...	...	14,386
Dressmakers	...	...	...	...	12,569
Iron and steel workers	...	...	...	...	12,327
Seamstresses	...	...	...	...	11,537
Janitors and sextons	...	...	...	...	11,536
Housekeepers and stewards	...	...	...	...	10,596
Fishermen and oystermen	...	...	...	...	10,427
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	...	...	...	...	10,224
Blacksmiths	...	...	...	...	10,100
Other occupations	...	...	...	...	185,329

To understand Negro occupations, one must remember that the slaves were emancipated and started as free labourers without land or capital. The result was that the mass of them became serfs and a system of peonage through alleged crime and debt was fastened on them; crime peonage consisted of leasing or parolling prisoners to a landlord who paid their fines or paid a stipulated sum to the State. Debt peonage consisted of keeping the labourer in debt and arresting him for breaking contract if he attempted to stop work. From this peonage larger and larger numbers are escaping; many are going to cities and becoming casual and day labourers; others of the better trained house-servant class are becoming land-owners and artisans, and others through education are entering the professional class. Roughly speaking, we may say that the Negro population consists of:—

2,000,000 labourers { 1,250,000 farm labourers.
500,000 day labourers.
250,000 washerwomen.

These are a semi-submerged class, some held in debt peonage, all paid small wages, and kept largely in ignorance.

1,200,000 working-men { 125,000 skilled artisans.
575,000 semi-skilled workers.
500,000 servants.

This is the emerging group. They are handicapped by poor training and race prejudice, but they are pushing forward, saving something, and educating their children as far as possible.

250,000 independents { 200,000 farmers.
40,000 professional men.
10,000 merchants.

This is the leading group of Negro-Americans. The mass of them have common school training, and there are some 5,000 college-trained men. They are accumulating property and educating their children. Their advance is opposed by a bitter and growing race prejudice.

The exact amount of property accumulated by Negroes is not known.

A committee of the American Economic Association reported :—

"The evidence in hand leads your Committee to the conclusion that the accumulated wealth of the Negro race in the United States in 1900 was approximately \$300,000,000, and probably neither less than \$250,000,000 nor more than \$350,000,000."

Since 1900 the increase of Negro property holdings has been very rapid, as the records in three States show :—

ASSESSED VALUE OF PROPERTY.

	1900.	1908.
Georgia	\$14,118,720	\$27,042,672
Virginia	15,856,570	25,628,336
North Carolina	9,478,399	21,253,581
Total	\$39,453,689	\$73,924,589

Judging from these figures, and the report of the American Economic Association quoted above, it would seem fair to infer that the total property of Negro-Americans aggregated \$560,000,000 in 1908.

In 1900 the census said :—

"We find that the total owned land of coloured farmers in continental United States in 1900 amounted to 14,964,214 acres, or 23,382 square miles—an area nearly as large as Holland and Belgium—and constituted 35·8 per cent. of all the land operated by coloured farmers."

Of the proportion of farm ownership the census says that between 1890 and 1900, while the number of Negro farmers probably increased by about 36 or 38 per cent., the number of Negro owners increased over 57 per cent., and the percentage of ownership increased by 3·5 per cent. So that 187,799 Negro farms, or 25·2 per cent. of all Negro farms were owned.

V. Religion.—The Christian Church did but little to convert the slaves from their Obeah worship and primitive religion until the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701; this Society, and the rising Methodists and Baptists, rapidly brought the body of slaves into nominal communion with the Christian Church. No sooner, however, did they appear in the Church than discrimination began to be practised, which the free Negroes of the North refused to accept. They therefore withdrew into the African Methodist and Zion Methodist Churches. The Baptists, even among the slaves, early had their separate Churches, and these Churches in the North began to federate about 1836. In 1871 the Methodist Church, South, set aside their coloured members into the Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church, and the other Southern Churches drove their members into the other coloured Churches. The remaining Northern denominations retained their Negro members, but organised them for the most part into separate congregations.

Practically, then, the seven-eighths of the whole Negro population is included in its own self-sustaining, self-governing Church bodies.

The statistics for Negro churches in 1906, according to the United States census, was as follows :—

"The total number of communicants or members, as reported by 36,563 organisations, is 3,685,097; of these, as shown by the returns for 34,648 organisations, 37·5 per cent. are males and 62·5 per cent. females."

According to the statistics, these organisations have 35,160 church edifices; a seating capacity for church edifices of 10,481,738, as reported by 33,091 organisations; church property valued at \$56,636,159, against which there appears an indebtedness of \$5,005,905; halls, &c., used for worship by 1,261 organisations; and parsonages valued at \$3,727,884. The number of Sunday Schools, as reported by 33,538 organisations, is 34,681, with 210,148 officers and teachers and 1,740,099 scholars.

As compared with the report of 1890, these figures show increases of 13,300 in the number of coloured organisations, 1,011,120 in the number of communicants or members, 11,390 in the number of church edifices, and \$30,009,711 in the value of church property.

It was estimated in 1907 that these churches raised seven and a half million dollars a year. Most of the half million goes probably to pay high interest on a debt of five millions. The remaining seven millions goes chiefly to the support of the pastor, the maintenance of the plant, and general church purposes. A large and growing share, however, goes to "mission" work; part of this is proselytising, but the larger part of it is distinctly benevolence and work for social betterment. No complete record of this work can be obtained. Outside of these money contributions by far the larger part of the benevolent work of Negroes is the unorganised personal work of church members among the congregations. This consists of donations, visits, care of the sick, adoption of children, &c.

The leading denominations are as follows, according to membership:—

Denomination.	Total Number of Organisations, White and Coloured.	Number of Coloured Organisations.	Total Number of Members.
Total	142,476	36,770	3,685,097
Baptist bodies	32,122	19,891	2,354,789
Churches of the Living God	68	68	4,276
Congregationalists	5,713	156	11,960
Disciples of Christians	10,942	170	11,233
Methodist bodies... ..	44,861	15,317	1,182,131
Presbyterian bodies	14,226	659	47,116
Protestant Episcopal bodies	6,845	198	19,098
Roman Catholic Church	12,482	36	38,235
All others	15,317	275	66,259

VI. *Crime*.—Of 125,093 prisoners committed in 1904 in the United States 15·8 per cent. were Negroes, who form 11·5 per cent. of the population. This is not, however, a fair measure of Negro crime, since, on account of race prejudice, Negroes are more easily convicted in court and receive longer sentences—*e.g.*, there were 125,093 white prisoners committed to jail during 1904. On June 30, 1904, there were 55,111 white prisoners in jail, showing a large number of short sentences. On the other hand, there were 23,698 Negro prisoners committed during 1904, and on June 30th there were 26,087 Negroes in jail, showing a large number of long sentences. Over half the prisoners in the United States sentenced to prison for life are Negroes. This might be explained by the greater gravity of Negro crimes, but this does not seem true. The Negro is naturally good-tempered, and the current newspaper reports of the rape of white women are greatly exaggerated. On the other hand, accusation of crime and long sentences for petty offences have long been used as methods of securing cheap Negro labour both for private and public purposes in the South, and of the 2,500 Negroes known to have been lynched for alleged crime in the last 25 years, not 25 per cent. have been even accused of assaulting women.

Most Negro crime arises from the natural weakness of slaves—petty stealing and quarrelling. To this have been added in later years more serious crimes of revenge against whites, altercations arising between employers and labourers, and fights and murders arising from contact of the races.

VII. *The Negro Problem*.—The American Negro problem is the question of the future status of the ten million Americans of Negro descent. It must be remem-

bered that these persons are Americans by birth and descent. They represent, for the most part, four or five American born generations, being in that respect one of the most American groups in the land. Moreover, the Negroes are not barbarians. They are, as a mass, poor and ignorant; but they are growing rapidly in both wealth and intelligence, and larger and larger numbers of them demand the rights and privileges of American citizens as a matter of undoubted desert.

To-day these rights are largely denied. In order to realise the disabilities under which Negroes suffer regardless of education, wealth, or degree of white blood, we may divide the United States into three districts:

- (a) The Southern South, containing 75 per cent. of the Negroes.
- (b) The border States, containing 15 per cent. of the Negroes.
- (c) The North and West, containing 10 per cent. of the Negroes.

In the Southern South by law or custom Negroes—

1. Cannot vote, or their votes are neutralised by fraud.
2. Must usually live in the least desirable districts.
3. Receive very low wages.
4. Are, in the main, restricted to menial occupations or the lower grades of skilled labour and cannot expect preferment or promotion.
5. Cannot by law intermarry with whites.
6. Cannot join white churches or attend white colleges or join white cultural organisations.
7. Cannot be accommodated at hotels and restaurants or in any place of public entertainment.
8. Receive a distinct standard of justice in the courts and are especially liable to mob violence.
9. Are segregated so far as possible in every walk of life—in railway stations, railway trains, street-cars, lifts, &c., and usually made to pay equal prices for inferior accommodations.
10. Are often unable to protect their homes from invasion, their women from insult, and their savings from exploitation.
11. Are taxed for public facilities like parks and libraries, which they may not enter.
12. Are given meagre educational facilities and sometimes none at all.
13. Are liable to personal insult unless they appear as servants or menials or show deference to white folks by yielding the road, &c.

To many of these disabilities there are personal and local exceptions. In cities, for instance, the chance to defend the home, get an education, and somewhat better wages is greater, and mob violence less frequent. Then there are always some personal exceptions—cases of help and courtesy, of justice in the courts, and of good schools. These are, however, exceptions, and, as a rule, all Negroes, no matter what their training, possessions, or desert, are subjected to the above disabilities. Within the limits of these caste restrictions there is much goodwill and kindness between the races, and especially much personal charity and help.

The 15 per cent. of the Negro population living on the border States suffer a little less restriction. They have some right of voting, are better able to defend their homes, and are less discriminated against in the expenditure of public funds. In the cities their schools are much better and public insult is less noticeable.

In the North the remaining 10 per cent. of the Negro population is legally undiscriminated against and may attend schools and churches and vote without restriction. As a matter of fact, however, they are made in most communities to feel that they are undesirable. They are either refused accommodation at hotels,

restaurants, and theatres, or received reluctantly. Their treatment in churches and general cultural organisations is such that few join. Inter-marriage with whites brings ostracism and public disfavour, and in courts Negroes often suffer undeservedly. Common labour and menial work is open to them, but avenues above this in skilled labour or the professions (save as they serve their own race), are extremely difficult to enter, and there is much discrimination in wages. Mob violence has become not infrequent in later years.

There are here also many exceptional cases ; instances of preferment in the industrial and political world ; and there is always some little social intercourse. On the whole, however, the Negro in the north is an ostracised person who finds it difficult to make a good living or spend his earnings with pleasure.

Under these circumstances there has grown up a Negro world in America which has its own economic and social life, its churches, schools, and newspapers ; its literature, public opinion, and ideals. This life is largely unnoticed and unknown even in America, and travellers miss it almost entirely.

The average American in the past made at least pretence of excusing the discrimination against Negroes, on the ground of their ignorance and poverty and their tendencies to crime and disease. While the mass is still poor and unlettered, it is admitted by all to-day that the Negro is rapidly developing a larger and larger class of intelligent property-holding men of Negro descent ; notwithstanding this more and more race lines are being drawn which involve the treatment of civilised men in an uncivilised manner. Moreover, the crux of the question to-day is not merely a matter of social eligibility. For many generations the American Negro will lack the breeding and culture which the most satisfactory human intercourse requires. But in America the discrimination against Negroes goes beyond this, to the point of public discourtesy, civic disability, injustice in the courts, and economic restriction.

The argument of those who uphold this discrimination is based primarily on race. They claim that the inherent characteristics of the Negro race show its essential inferiority and the impossibility of incorporating its descendants into the American nation. They admit that there are exceptions to the rule of inferiority, but claim that these but prove the rule. They say that amalgamation of the races would be fatal to civilisation and they advocate therefore a strict caste system for Negroes, segregating them by occupations and privileges, and to some extent by dwelling-place, to the end that they (a) submit permanently to an inferior position, or (b) die out, or (c) migrate.

This philosophy the thinking Negroes and a large number of white friends vigorously combat. They claim that the racial differences between white and black in the United States offer no essential barrier to the races living together on terms of mutual respect and helpfulness. They deny, on the one hand, that the large amalgamation of the races already accomplished has produced degenerates, in spite of the unhappy character of these unions ; on the other hand, they deny any desire to lose the identity of either race through inter-marriage. They claim that it should be possible for a civilised black man to be treated as an American citizen without harm to the republic, and that the modern world must learn to treat coloured races as equals if it expects to advance.

They claim that the Negro race in America has more than vindicated its ability to assimilate modern culture. Negro blood has furnished thousands of soldiers to defend the flag in every war in which the United States has been engaged. They are a most important part of the economic strength of the nation, and they have furnished a number of men of ability in politics, literature, and art, as, for instance, Banneker, the mathematician ; Phillis Wheatley, the poet ; Lemuel Haynes, the theologian ; Ira Aldridge, the actor ; Frederick

Douglass, the orator ; H. O. Tanner, the artist ; B. T. Washington, the educator ; Granville Woods, the inventor ; Kelly Miller, the writer ; Rosamond Johnson and Will Cook, the musical composers ; Dunbar, the poet ; and Chestnut, the novelist. Many other Americans, whose Negro blood has not been openly acknowledged, have reached high distinction. The Negroes claim, therefore, that a discrimination which was originally based on certain social conditions is rapidly becoming a persecution based simply on race prejudice, and that no republic built on caste can survive.

At the meeting of two such diametrically opposed arguments it was natural that councils of compromise should appear, and it was also natural that a nation, whose economic triumphs have been so noticeable as those of the United States, should seek an economic solution to the race question. More and more in the last twenty years the business men's solution of the race problem has been the development of the resources of the South. Coincident with the rise of this policy came the prominence of Mr. B. T. Washington. Mr. Washington was convinced that race prejudice in America was so strong and the economic position of the freedmen's sons so weak that the Negro must give up or postpone his ambitions for full citizenship and bend all his energies to industrial efficiency and the accumulation of wealth. Mr. Washington's idea was that eventually when the dark man was thoroughly established in the industries and had accumulated wealth, he could demand further rights and privileges. This philosophy has become very popular in the United States, both among whites and blacks.

The white South hastened to welcome this philosophy. They thought it would take the Negro out of politics, tend to stop agitation, make the Negro a satisfied labourer, and eventually convince him that he could never be recognised as the equal of the white man. The North began to give large sums for industrial training, and hoped in this way to get rid of a serious social problem.

From the beginning of this campaign, however, a large class of Negroes and many whites feared this programme. They not only regarded it as a programme which was a dangerous compromise, but they insisted that to stop fighting the essential wrong of race prejudice just at the time, was to encourage it.

This was precisely what happened. Mr. Washington's programme was announced at the Atlanta Exposition in 1896. Since that time four States have disfranchised Negroes, dozens of cities and towns have separated the races on street cars, 1,250 Negroes have been publicly lynched without trial, and serious race riots have taken place in nearly every Southern State and several Northern States, Negro public school education has suffered a set back, and many private schools have been forced to retrench severely or to close. On the whole, race prejudice has, during the last fifteen years, enormously increased.

This has been coincident with the rapid and substantial advance of Negroes in wealth, education, and morality, and the two movements of race prejudice and Negro advance have led to an anomalous and unfortunate situation. Some, white and black, seek to minimise and ignore the flaming prejudice in the land, and emphasise many acts of friendliness on the part of the white South, and the advance of the Negro. Others, on the other hand, point out that silence and sweet temper are not going to settle this dangerous social problem, and that manly protest and the publication of the whole truth is alone adequate to arouse the nation to its great danger.

Moreover, many careful thinkers insist that, under the circumstances, the "business men's" solution of the race problem is bound to make trouble : if the Negroes become good cheap labourers, warranted not to strike or complain, they will arouse all the latent prejudice of the white working men whose wages

they bring down. If, on the other hand, they are to be really educated as men, and not as "hands," then they need, as a race, not only industrial training, but also a supply of well-educated, intellectual leaders and professional men for a group so largely deprived of contact with the cultural leaders of the whites. Moreover, the best thought of the nation is slowly recognising the fact that to try to educate a working man, and not to educate the man, is impossible. If the United States wants intelligent Negro labourers, it must be prepared to treat them as intelligent men.

This counter movement of intelligent men, white and black, against the purely economic solution of the race problem, has been opposed by powerful influences both North and South. The South represents it as malicious sectionalism, and the North misunderstands it as personal dislike and envy of Mr. Washington. Political pressure has been brought to bear, and this insured a body of coloured political leaders who do not agitate for Negro rights. At the same time, a chain of Negro newspapers were established to advocate the dominant philosophy.

Despite this well-intentioned effort to keep down the agitation of the Negro question and mollify the coloured people, the problem has increased in gravity. The result is the present widespread unrest and dissatisfaction. Honest Americans know that present conditions are wrong and cannot last; but they face, on the one hand, the seemingly implacable prejudice of the South, and, on the other hand, the undoubted rise of the Negro challenging that prejudice. The attempt to reconcile these two forces is becoming increasingly futile, and the nation simply faces the question: Are we willing to do justice to a dark race despite our prejudices? Radical suggestions of wholesale segregation or deportation of the race have now and then been suggested; but the cost in time, effort, money, and economic disturbance is too staggering to allow serious consideration. The South, with all its race prejudice, would rather fight than lose its great black labouring force, and in every walk of life throughout the nation the Negro is slowly forcing his way. There are some signs that the prejudice in the South is not immovable, and now and then voices of protest and signs of liberal thought appear there. Whether at last the Negro will gain full recognition as a man, or be utterly crushed by prejudice and superior numbers, is the present Negro problem of America.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN RELATION TO WHITE WOMEN

By FRANCES HOGGAN, M.D., *London.*

IN Africa of late, as in America for some decades, the cry has arisen of danger to white women from black men. It is a cry which rouses every chivalrous instinct in the human breast; one only wonders that so little feeling comparatively is shown when the white man is the aggressor and the victim has a coloured skin. That outrages on women are perpetrated in countries in various phases of civilisation is a terrible and disconcerting fact, and they are, alas! more common in civilised countries and in those on the outskirts of civilisation.

In the outlying districts of Africa, where Native life is seen at its crudest, white women have no fear, and they pass freely in and out among the Native population, safe and unarmed, never dreaming of danger. It is when Natives and low-class white men come into contact with each other that the peril originates, and white women begin to see in the Native a possible source of danger.

The best minds are needed to grapple with the general Native problem, and, as incidental to it, with the question of criminal assaults on women. If one studies the causes which lead up to this crime they are found to be multiple and complex. The first place must be accorded to polygamy, with its subsidiary customs, in which I include all that belong to initiation and its accompanying practices, now carried on under altered conditions of life. The youth, with all his passions roused into baleful activity by the so-called "Native Schools," their excitement and the orgies and promiscuity which certainly in some districts form part of the training they give, leads often only partially the tribal life, which imposed certain well-recognised restrictions on the indulgence of his appetites, and punished by the imposition of a cattle fine—the most keenly felt of all punishments—any violation of the property or rights of other men, whether of husbands over wives or of fathers over daughters. These youths, as well as older men, are largely recruited for work in the mines, where they are, it is true, subjected to repressive treatment and confinement during most of their time in the compounds, but where they are not under the immediate direction and control of any chief, a control which to them seemed as natural as, say, that of parents over young children. The mine masters and officials only represent to their minds brute force, to be evaded wherever possible, whereas the authority of the chief represented something analogous to law and religion combined. It was undoubtedly to some considerable extent a moral influence, for though lying does not to the Native mind represent sin, to lie to his chief is a heinous offence, which he would tremble to be guilty of. Thus the "mine boys," as they are called, are in great danger of becoming moral pariahs, with their physical instincts under no effective control, when not under immediate and visible supervision. Fear is the only restraining influence under this new *régime*; fear, tempered by reverence for the chief, was the restraining influence at home in the tribe. The inference is obvious as to the danger such persons may be to the community, and especially to unprotected women, when out of bounds and roaming at large.

Growing race consciousness is another factor which, under some circumstances, may tend towards crime of this nature. The feeling that one man is as good as another, if not kept within due bounds,

and controlled by the brotherhood sentiment which produces respect for all members of the human family and strict recognition of the rights of all, even the weakest, may degenerate into that state of feeling which would lead to the indulgence of self at the expense of other and less powerful selves.

I may here allude to a contributory factor in crime which only needs to be pointed out to become patent to all thoughtful persons. My own attention was first called to it by police officials and others on the spot able to speak with authority, and further inquiry confirmed the danger. Ladies in South Africa habitually allow their Native "boys" to attend on them in their bedrooms, when they themselves are either in bed or very slightly clothed, oblivious of the fact that these "boys" are often grown men, with fully developed passions, living at a distance from their wives. The more extended employment by ladies of Native women in immediate attendance on their own persons would not only lead to the more rapid spread of civilisation among Native women, but it would also tend to remove an obvious though perhaps remote source of danger, for it is not themselves, but the poorer and less guarded white women who have most reason to dread attack and assault.

A great hindrance to be cleared away is the reluctance to employ Natives in skilled labour, for fear of displacing white men. Well, the choice lies between a trained, cheerful, working class, respected and self-respecting, and a discontented, shiftless, ignorant, and brutal Native population, ready to swell the criminal class, and constituting a grave danger in a country where the majority is so overwhelmingly black. Failure to realise the elder brother's position, and to exercise wisely the privilege of guiding Natives out of tribal into civilised life, will result in national disaster and the creation of a reckless and unmanageable proletariat. If Natives are denied a proper and a reasonable outlet for their energies in the land which was theirs long before the settlement of whites, in Africa, criminality, including assaults of all kinds, must become in future both more common and more difficult to cope with. A just and generous policy towards the ancient owners of the land is our only chance of escaping from a colour conflict of unparalleled magnitude, and no greed of wealth or power, no unworthy jealousy of a rising and developing race whose destinies we control, should be allowed to intervene, and to choke the good intentions of the governing whites towards the black millions who look to them for guidance and light in matters spiritual and in matters temporal, as well as for the ideal towards which to strive.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

By CHARLES ALEXANDER EASTMAN, M.D. (Ohiyesa), *Amherst, U.S.A.*

Geographical.—The aboriginal nations of North America at the time of its discovery were scattered in small and more or less shifting groups over the whole extent of the continent. Their tribal or group names are so many and so variable as to confuse even the student; but it is possible by means of linguistic and other traits to assemble them all into several great families, each with its distinguishing marks and local habitat. Such were the Abenakis, the Appalachians, the Iroquois, the Algonquins, the Siouans, the Rocky Mountain or Intermontane tribes, the Pacific coast tribes, and the Alaskans.

The physical characters of the race are assumed to be well known, yet are often incorrectly described. Their colour is not "red" nor "copper-coloured," but a warm brown, much darker in the south than among the inhabitants of the north temperate zone. The head is generally well-formed, the nose by no means universally Roman, and the hair, while generally black and straight, rather fine than coarse. According to the best opinion obtainable, the total number of natives of North America at the close of the fifteenth century could not have been far from half a million. Since that period they have fallen off in numbers, though not to the extent popularly supposed, and are now slowly increasing.

Political.—The government of the first North American was the simplest form of a democracy. It was patterned after the patriarchal or family government, and the clan chief was really the most influential head. This office was for life, and was to some extent hereditary, but if the next in succession proved weak or unworthy, the people would reject him and call upon their best and bravest man to lead them.

The chief had no dictatorial powers, but his influence was large in his own clan, and if the clan chanced to be a large one, their chief would naturally be influential in the councils of the whole tribe. A band was generally composed of several clans, and a tribe or nation made up of numerous bands; but in the old days there was no chief of an entire tribe or even of a band.

The American Indian chief was in reality merely the authorised spokesman of his clan, save as he might acquire unusual authority by rare personal qualities, or, in later days, by the recognition and favour of the white man. All matters which involved the welfare or good name of the clan must be submitted to the will of the entire people, and the chief must abide by their decision. Much trouble has come

to us through the determination of the white man to negotiate solely with chiefs and headmen, misunderstanding or ignoring the fact that the office of chief is mainly honorary and indeed nominal, since he has no command of an army nor power to levy a tax upon his people. American historians have constantly fallen into error by reason of their ignorance of our democratic system, truly a government of the people, one of personal liberty and equal rights to all its members.

In the old days there was no confederacy worthy the name. That of the Iroquois was conceived after the advent of the European nations. Witnesses to the fate of the Pequots and Narragansetts, they perceived the urgent need of union for self-protection. No taxes were levied, and there was no federal government, strictly speaking—merely a friendly alliance, with an occasional council to discuss their common policy and attitude toward the invaders.

The Appalachians, under the leadership of the Creeks, formed a much stronger confederacy at a somewhat later period, but from lack of material support they gradually disintegrated and were one by one overthrown. Still later, the eastern Algonquins, led by the great Pontiac, attempted to form a strong league for defence, but failed even more conspicuously than their southern brethren.

The Dakotas, or Sioux proper, were natural allies ; yet after their struggle with the whites began they also quickly disintegrated, band after band seceding until only a few of the boldest held together to make their last stand. The real cause of failure was the same in every case. There was no central organisation, adequately supported by the whole tribe. The only true government was that of the clan, which was always intact ; but as chiefs and councillors and scouts served without other compensation than the honour attached to the office, the duties of supporting such a government were far from onerous.

The nearest approach to taxation was observed in the case of a large gathering for the purpose of treaty-making or religious festivities. It was customary at such times to invite certain of the old men to sit in council, to make and publicly announce such regulations as might be for the general good. There were strict rules governing the daily hunt, and vigilance must likewise be maintained by regular scouting to avert the dangers of a surprise. Those who served the community in these ways were supplied with food by means of a daily distribution of small sticks coloured red, of which every man who received one must deliver a portion of food ready cooked at the council lodge within a given time.

The Indian was taught from childhood to esteem the public service as high honour, and he needed no further inducement to accept gladly the most dangerous and difficult tasks. No man could

be selected for an important duty unless he was known to be of sound body and pure life. Above all, he must be a spiritual man ; one who loved the Unseen God, and whose motives were in accord with the will of the "Great Mystery."

It was the duty of the council to sit in judgment upon the rare cases of murder or other serious offence within the tribe. If found guilty, a man might be exiled, or given up to the just vengeance of the victim's kin ; for lesser crimes he might be chastised, or his house or weapons destroyed by his fellow-warriors. Punishment of this sort, however, was a very grave matter, not to be undertaken save by men of recognised standing and with the full sanction of the council.

Economic.—It appears that not freedom or democracy or spiritual development, but material progress alone, is the evidence of "civilisation." The American Indian failed to meet this test, or rather, he made no attempt to meet it, being convinced that accumulation of property breeds dishonesty and greed, while concentration of population is abnormal and the mother of many evils, both physical and moral. In the unnatural and complex "civilised" life the savage philosopher discerned perils with which he did not choose even to try to cope, wisely dreading those lurking enemies of a sedentary and plethoric life. Furthermore, his strong religious sentiment forbade any effort on his part to deface mother nature, and harness her forces for his own use or pleasure. The pollution of streams, the destruction of forests, and the levelling of hills were to him a sacrilege. He was unwilling to pay the price of civilisation.

The Indian was a tiller of the soil to a very limited extent. He lived almost entirely upon the natural products of the country, and his main dependence was hunting and fishing, together with two native cereals of great value (corn and rice), acorns, berries, wild fruits, and roots of many kinds. The food was always divided until it became abundant,¹ then the women began to gather and store provisions for the colder months of the year. They were cured by drying, either over a slow fire or in the sun, and extra supplies were often hidden or "cached" at some convenient spot ; for, though nearly all the tribes were nomadic, a given family or clan had a limited range. The prairie Indians covered more territory than the forest dwellers, and yet had less variety of food.

The love of possessions was considered effeminate in a warrior, and the woman owned all property, except her husband's clothing and weapons. All commerce and even simple barter was unknown. Our people were generous to a fault, freely bestowing whatever they had upon one more needy, or upon the stranger who expressed his admiration of it.

All clothing was made and ornamented by the women with

much skill, according to the tribal pattern, and they also tanned the skins of which it was made. The tents or lodges were constructed by different tribes from various materials—rush mats, birch-bark, or buffalo skins, entirely prepared by the women. A few lived in dwellings made of poles thatched with brush or sods. Canoes were made by both sexes, but pipes and weapons entirely by the men. Except in cases of emergency, to them fell all hunting and fishing, while the women tilled the small patches of maize or beans, gathered berries, dug roots, and prepared maple sugar. Basket-weaving was done by the women, and blankets and pottery made by both women and men. The men carved the wooden bowls and shaped the spoons of wood, bone, horn, and shell.

The division of labour between the sexes was natural and far from unjust. It must be remembered that in a society like theirs there could be no merely ornamental members. Upon the men devolved those labours involving the severest hardship, peril and exposure—war and the chase; while the women undertook all the care of the home, including the drudgery of providing wood and water.

After the advent of the white man, bringing with him more effective weapons, better implements of labour, and new ideas of industry and commerce, these simple occupations were enlarged and systematised, through observation or direct teaching, and several semi-civilised industries developed. Such were blanket-weaving and sheep-herding on a large scale in the south-west, and maple sugar making among the Ojibways.

Religion.—The religion of the American Indian has been generally misunderstood, and that by reason of his own reticence as much as the intolerance and prejudice of the outsider. He was trained from infancy to hold the "Great Mystery" sacred and unspeakable. That Spirit which pervades the universe in its every phase and form was not to be trifled with by him in express terms. The Indian cultivated his mind and soul so as to feel, hear and see God in Nature. He distinguished clearly between intellect and spirit, and while conceding to man superior intelligence, as evidenced by the gift of articulate speech, he perceived in the unerring instinct of the dumb creation something mysterious and divine.

He had absolute faith in the immortality of the spirit, believing that the "Great Mystery" had breathed something of himself into every human frame. The highest type of prayer was offered fasting and alone in a solitary place, if possible upon a mountain-top, and was a true communion of spirits, far above all earthly or selfish desire. There was also a secondary form of prayer for bodily wel-

fare or the satisfaction of material needs, in which the Indian appealed to his father the Sun, the great-grandfather Rock, or the spirits of animals as intermediaries. The rites of this worship were purely symbolic. He believed in the intercession of the souls of the departed, and there were totems or emblematic devices to which a certain sacredness was attached, as talismans, not as idols.

His religious teachers were the women, and, above all, the mothers, who cultivated the spiritual nature of the child before its birth, by thinking pure and high thoughts in nature's solitudes, and continued it later by the continual suggestion of a listening attitude—one of openness to the Unseen Powers. In a word, this simple religion of his was an attitude of mind rather than a dogma, and consisted in the all but universal sentiments of humility, reverence, and devotion.

The Social Law.—The unwritten codes of the wild tribes were not easily changed nor often broken. The punishment of the transgressor was direct and sure. It should never be forgotten that primitive life on this continent was not a life of licence, but in many respects of a strict etiquette and an austere morality.

There was never any promiscuous intermingling of the sexes permitted among us. Girls and boys were not allowed to play together after reaching the age of ten or twelve years. No young man could talk to a girl unless he desired to make her his wife. Even brothers and sisters might not talk and jest freely together, but were expected to preserve the utmost dignity and decorum.

Marriage was not allowed within the clan. It was considered that the reproductive power was the most mysterious and sacred gift of the Divine to man, and it was safeguarded with much anxiety and reverence. The honour and trust given to woman in motherhood won for her a peculiar precedence, as all-important among created beings. The lineage of our chiefs was reckoned in the maternal line, and the purity of our girls was sacredly guarded by each succeeding generation. The annual "Feast of Virgins" was established as evidence and incentive to such purity; and the Sioux had a custom which allowed a young man to reject his bride publicly if upon receiving her she was found to be unchaste.

It is true that in the wild life a plurality of wives was permitted under certain conditions. The reasons for it are thus explained. Our young men, being so ambitious for honour in the "feather count," or record of brave deeds, many of them were killed without leaving successors. Furthermore, it was customary to limit the children of one mother to five, some of whom would

probably not live to maturity, therefore the tribe increased very slowly, if at all, in numbers. The conditions imposed were, first, that only a man of superb physique and superior ability should have more than one wife; second, that the wives should be sisters; third, that all concerned should be agreed in the matter, and it was thought better that the proposition should come from the woman's parents. In this manner, the blood of the family was kept distinct, and the relation both honourable and happy.

Medicine-men were public servants, asking no fee for their services, and until commercialism was introduced and their primitive faith destroyed, they were very influential and useful members of the community. The majority were simply herbalists, using well-tried vegetable remedies, and there were many varieties of mental healers who undertook to re-create the physical man through spiritual influences. They made use of music and charms to gain the attention of the patient, employed vapour baths frequently and occasionally a little blood-letting, but did not practise surgery in any form.

War was regarded primarily as a test and development of the qualities of manhood; its object was never conquest or self-aggrandisement. In the old days the Indians seldom took captives or any sort of plunder. The scalp-lock was merely the necessary evidence of success. Most barbarous mutilations of the body belonged to the transition or "whisky period," and it was only necessary to touch the body of a fallen enemy at the risk of one's own life to win the coveted eagle-feather. The early European colonists did not hesitate to utilise this scalp-lock custom of the "savages," and offered bounties for scalps, including those of women and children.

A loyal and disinterested friendship was one of the finest things developed by the first North American, who knew how to be a true comrade, even to death. Intelligence combined with patriotism meant leadership, and was always at a premium. Of culture in the technical sense he had none, but that his mind was logical and keen is sufficiently proved by his oratory and his generalship. His children were taught to obey: silence, self-control, self-denial, these were the foundations of character-building. There was a school of the woods in which the young were systematically trained in body and mind, by sports and native arts of many kinds, nature-study and wood-craft, together with a thorough drill in tribal history, tradition, and folk-lore.

The position of women has already been indicated in some degree. The mother was the head of the family, and nothing of

importance was determined upon without her approval. Women were admitted to the society of the "medicine-lodge" on equal terms, and sometimes invited to a seat in the council. Some tribes had female chiefs.

The Transition Period. First effects of Civilisation.—The first effects of contact between this primitive race, with its Spartan virtues and non-progressive philosophy, and the strenuous and dominant Anglo-Saxon race were, speaking broadly, destructive and demoralising, leading only after untold misery to an era of reconstruction and progress. These results may be grouped in two classes: those which were natural and inevitable, and those which were the fruits of a deliberate policy.

The conflicts born of a disputed occupancy of the soil were doubtless largely inevitable. It has been plausibly argued that the Indian had no possessory rights in territory he did not use except as a hunting-ground; but no such principle is found in the white man's law, and as a matter of fact his rights were recognised from first to last by treaty and purchase. Unfortunately, the red man did not understand his white brother. He innocently supposed that on this vast continent there was room for both, where each could peaceably develop his peculiar mode of life. It is almost unnecessary to say that he was slow to recognise the superiority of an organised form of society, and unwilling to accept the arts and letters, customs and religion of the invader until brought to see the stern necessity of so doing by starvation, oppression, and suffering in many forms.

It was equally inevitable that the vices of the more sophisticated race should be imitated by the simpler; and being in no degree immune to their effects, the resulting degradation was rapid and apparently hopeless. Trade for furs and other articles of value, initiated by the cupidity of the white man, helped to accomplish the downfall of the red, by substituting a desire for gain for his native uncalculating generosity, but yet more by the unprincipled use of strong drink, which the early traders found to be of invaluable assistance in controlling and defrauding him. In the train of whisky and drunkenness came debauchery and diseases caused by immorality; then the hitherto unknown and frightful small-pox, decimating many tribes and wiping out whole bands; and finally the white plague, tuberculosis, following inevitably upon a sedentary and indoor life in unsanitary dwellings (whose use was suggested or compelled by the white man), together with poor and insufficient food.

The Christian missionary, especially the "Black Robe," pressed close upon the heels of the trader, and though urged by the best

of motives nevertheless made grave mistakes. Misunderstanding and denouncing the Indian's own religion as "devil-worship," he often succeeded only in overthrowing the native philosophy without substituting anything better, and many of the early converts were such in name only, being recruited from among the loafers and sycophants of the tribes, while the stronger characters held proudly aloof.

History makes it plain to us that the European colonists at first shared in the Indians' misconception of their ultimate relation. Vast tracts of land far to the westward of the settlements were set aside from time to time for their perpetual occupancy, only to be again seized upon in a few years as the country developed. Finally, each tribe made its last stand, fighting with wonderful but hopeless courage and temporary success against overwhelming odds, and one by one they were subdued and overthrown, not without the help of such means as the wholesale extermination of game, the use of tribe against tribe, and even the bribery and corruption of chiefs and headmen to induce them to betray their people. The horrors and cruelties of Indian warfare are attributable not only to the desperate situation of the natives and fierce resentment caused by the continual treaty-breaking, but to their possession of knives and modern fire-arms gained in trade.

Upon their complete subjugation followed the "reservation period," in the case of those tribes whose game was destroyed necessarily including the pauperising effect of the issue of regular rations; and in this miserable prison existence, at the mercy of petty officials bent on "graft," the manhood of the Indian suffered its final eclipse, and his beggarly apathy was like that of a wild animal confined in a zoological garden.

We may say now without much fear of contradiction that the reservation policy was a mistake, the fruits of a radical misapprehension of the red man's native capacity. A generation ago it was common to affirm his absolute inability to assimilate the white man's civilisation. There was, of course, no such inability, but merely a lack of motive and opportunity; in other words, it was a simple question of adaptation to environment. Yet this shallow and immoral doctrine has been embodied in such well-known sayings as "There's no good Indian but a dead Indian," and "You can no more civilise an Indian than you can civilise a rattlesnake"; the one attributed to a famous general, the other to a United States senator. At the opposite extreme, and the one gradually coming into full acceptance by a more enlightened generation, we have General Pratt's unanswerable logic: "To civilise the Indian, get him into civilisation!"

Inter-racial Marriage.—The intermingling of the blood of the aborigines of America with that of their white conquerors began at an early period, and has continued in growing measure to the present day. In their origin these were usually mere temporary alliances, entered into solely for the pleasure and convenience of the border white man, and opposed by the better class of Indians, who saw in them a menace to their racial integrity. The children of these unions form the numerous and much abused race of "half-breeds," whose fathers are of all nationalities, the French and Scotch predominating, and of all classes from army officers and gentlemen through wealthy Indian traders and rough pioneers to fugitives from justice. The great majority have cast in their lot with their mothers' people and grown up as "Indians," with slight if any advantage over the mass of these. The common slur which attributes to the mixed-blood "the vices of both races and the virtues of neither" is absolutely unjust. Many of them have been men and women of good abilities and fine character; and of the reckless and dissipated class, it should in fairness be said that their weaknesses are due not to a mixture of blood which has many times proved fortunate, but to a vicious heredity or indifferent bringing up, or both together.

Within the past twenty or thirty years, and occasionally before that time, there have been a great many inter-marriages of a different character, between educated Indians and Caucasians; and whereas in the early days only Indian women contracted these alliances, of late years almost as many Indian men choose Anglo-Saxon wives. Such marriages, based upon mutual sympathy and affection, have been generally happy and have had the best results.

Since it is admittedly impossible for the Indian to continue to exist as a separate race, with his proper racial characteristics and customs, within the limits of the United States, race amalgamation is the only final and full solution of the problem, and only in this sense, implying no lack of vitality, but quite the reverse, is the American Indian a "dying race." In remote parts of Canada, where there is as yet no pressure of white population, the process may take a longer time; but, at the present rate, it will not be two hundred years, perhaps not even a hundred, before the full-blooded Indian is extinct.

The Outlook.—Looking toward the future, we can affirm that the educational policy of the last thirty or forty years, both in the United States and Canada, built upon an earlier but inadequate system of mission schools, is, broadly speaking, a success, and if adopted much earlier on the present large scale would long

since have settled the whole question. Many millions of dollars, in part "trust funds" belonging to the tribes, and in part direct appropriations, have been expended for building and maintaining a large number of Indian schools, with an army of white and native teachers. Industries, manners, and morals form an important part of the curriculum, and the best schools lay particular stress upon hygiene and sanitation—a most essential feature, as it cannot be denied that the Indian's health has commonly suffered from close confinement.

However, the best individual results have been attained by bringing the young Indian into direct contact and competition with Caucasian youth, as warmly advocated by General Pratt, a thinker and administrator of the first rank, and the founder of the Carlisle School. The whole system of race segregation and separation is a mistake, except as a temporary expedient, as applied to a comparatively small number of individuals who can undoubtedly be trained and assimilated without serious difficulty, provided thorough measures are taken. There is already a fraction which is socially, commercially, and professionally at one with the general population, while a majority of the whole have received allotments of land in severalty, and have become citizens.

At the present time, it is not so much a question of the Indians themselves as of the Indian Bureau at Washington. Only about 350,000 of the natives are left, some 260,000 of them in the United States, and these are pretty well scattered throughout the western half of the country, completely surrounded by, and in many case intermingled with, the white population. It is the huge, unwieldy system that has grown up both at Washington and in the field that hampers the development of the "new Indian" and tends to perpetuate his state of wardship and partial dependence. The sooner all restrictions can be removed, all specialising institutions discontinued, and all trust funds divided *per capita*, the better for the manhood and full independence of the Indian citizen.

There is much to be thankful for in that the land question is now practically settled. Indian wars have presumably ceased, most of the younger generation of Indians speak some English, and have at least a modicum of education, their interests are fully identified with those of their white neighbours, and the latent genius of my race in art, eloquence, mechanics, or what not is in a fair way to be utilised towards the fuller development of the twentieth century.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE *METIS*, OR HALF-BREEDS, OF BRAZIL

By Dr. JEAN BAPTISTE DE LACERDA, *Rio de Janeiro*.

Director of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, Corresponding Member of various scientific societies of Europe and America, Honorary Professor in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Chile.

As the narrow limits within which I must confine myself do not allow me to write as lengthy a paper as my subject requires, I shall give only a short account, without much development, dealing with the essential and really important aspects of the question. From the anthropological and social point of view, the question of the *metis* has an exceptional importance in Brazil; chiefly because the proportion of *metis* in its mixed population is very high, and these products of the intercourse of the negro and the white are largely represented in social and political life.

In order that we may, a little later, establish certain conclusions in regard to the future of the *metis* of Brazil, we must begin by settling an anthropological question which many regard as still unsettled. It is the question whether we are to conceive the whites and the blacks as two races or two species. Polygenists, basing their opinion on the difference in physical characters between the white and the black, which they regard as deeper than the differences that separate many species in the animal world, consider them to be two species of the genus *Homo*. Those who reason thus, however, forget that there is the same difference in physical characters between various races of the same animal species; for instance, in the species of *Canis familiaris*, and in certain species of birds, in which natural or artificial selection has brought about a diversity of races with greater differences in the physical characters—colour, form, and stature—than we find between the white man and the black. Science has as yet no infallible criterion by which it can distinguish races from species. The one test by which we can provide a secure foundation for this distinction is the fertility or infertility of the offspring which results from crossing the two species in question. If their progeny continue to reproduce in successive generations, the parents constitute a race. If, on the contrary, they prove sterile, the parents which were crossed must be considered species.

Admitting this principle, which seems to me sounder physiologically and more natural than any of the others, I have no difficulty in granting that the white man and the black man are merely two races, and not two distinct species. Every one is aware that the *metis*, who

come of the mating of the white and the black, remain fertile for many generations.

While, however, the whites and the blacks preserve their respective racial characters for an indefinite period—a quality which is known as their fixity—the *metis*, or half-breeds born of their intercourse, do not. They are not a real race, because many of their physical characters are not fixed, but tend to vary at each new crossing; sometimes they diverge toward the white type, sometimes toward the black. This innate tendency of the *metis*, depriving them of the characteristic qualities of a fixed race, has a considerable influence in the transformations that a mixed population must experience in the course of ages, when the mating of individuals is not subject to precise social rules, and the *metis* are quite free to mate with the whites, thus giving rise to offspring which diverges more and more, every time, from the black to the white type.

That is the actual condition of the mixed population of Brazil. The negro, an almost complete savage, bought in the African markets and transported to the Brazilian coast by Portuguese traders during the first half of the last century, arrived there in a state of the most abject brutality to which a race of men can fall. The adventurers who were then exploiting the fertile soil of Brazil treated them worse than domestic animals, and inflicted the most cruel and humiliating trials on them. During the voyage they shut them in the hold at the least sign of revolt, closed the hatches, and emptied sacks of lime in the close atmosphere. Some died of famine, others of thirst, and others were asphyxiated by the exhalations of the crowd, vitiating the air in which they lived. The Governments of several civilised nations stood out against this inhuman conduct, which did not press in the least on the conscience of the murderous traders. England, amongst other countries, was compelled to tolerate piracy in order to put an end to this disgraceful traffic.

Landed on the coast in the most sequestered and least accessible spots, these masses of human beings were divided into lots and sold to the owners of the estates, who did not scruple to separate wives from husbands, children from parents, according to the pleasure of the bidders. In this way, for the cultivation of the soil, the Portuguese introduced nearly two million blacks into Brazil. This unhealthy introduction of slaves has hampered the destiny of Brazil down to our own time, and has had disastrous moral consequences which only the slow action of time will wholly efface.

The negroes, as they arrived, were conveyed to the interior, where they died in large numbers after undergoing all kinds of misery. The most surprising feature of the situation is that the masters, with-

out the least delicacy, made concubines of their female slaves, and these unions of white and black naturally became very numerous.

In a very few years the districts surrounding the rural estates had a large population of *metis*. They shared the lot of their mothers, and remained under the yoke of their common master. As they were more active and intelligent than the blacks, they soon made their way into the homes and were occupied in domestic service. Many of them won the esteem of their masters and those about them. Some of them, giving proof of real intelligence and devotion to their employers, were, from a feeling of gratitude, emancipated by the latter, and were given the rudiments of an artistic education. In this way some of them became clever mechanics, carpenters, cabinet-makers, and even tailors. I have known personally an emancipated mulatto who had by his own ability obtained the diploma of a doctor of medicine, and was a credit to his profession throughout his life.

The progress of the *metis* up the social ladder, which began in the time of their slavery, has continued to our own time in accordance with the laws of intellectual selection. We must recognise the generous feelings of the majority of the Brazilian slave-owners. They showed a really Christian spirit in improving, as far as possible, the lot of the children of slaves born on their estates. How many times have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table? They looked after their food and clothing, and treated them with kindness and gentleness when they were ill. The female mulattoes were often dressed in the fashion of the hour, wore jewellery, and, acting as maids of honour, they followed the master's daughters when they were out walking, going to church, or taking part in public festivals. It was no less uncommon at that time to see the master's son accompanied by a *metis* of the same age when he was out hunting or riding or going to the country balls, which were attended by people of every class. As a rule the slave-owners employed negresses or mulattoes to nurse their children. These fortunate women were emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof and have various privileges. The aged negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling them odd stories that were calculated to strike the imagination.

The contact of the Portuguese and the negro in the regions of the New World assumed a character quite different from that of the Anglo-Saxons in contact with the same race. While the Portuguese did not hesitate to mix with the negro to the extent of begetting a mixed offspring, the Anglo-Saxon, more jealous of the purity of his

lineage, kept the negro at a distance, and merely used him as an instrument of toil. It is a curious and remarkable fact that neither the lapse of time nor any other factor has been able to alter this early attitude of the North Americans, who keep the black race separated from the white population down to our own days. Brazil acted differently. The whites there set up a race of *metis* that is scattered to-day over a vast extent of its territory.

Galton's deductions in regard to hybridity in animals cannot be wholly applied to human half-breeds. In the case of man there is an inheritance of moral and intellectual qualities that follows no fixed and absolute rules. Under the influence of agencies of which we do not know the nature, the intellectual qualities often reach, in the mixed progeny of the white and black, a degree of superiority which cannot be explained in terms of heredity, either remote or proximate. Some unknown force gives rise in them to an intelligence that is capable of developing to a pitch that neither of the parents could reach. It is, in fact, common to find, as the offspring of a white of very mediocre intelligence, mated with a negress of the lowest grade of culture, an individual of considerable intellectual power; just as if one of the effects of crossing in the case of man was precisely to improve the intelligence, or the moral and reflective qualities which distinguish individuals of the two races crossed.

Although it is impossible to say that the *metis* are models of beauty, either in their figure or contour, it is nevertheless quite true that, especially in the female sex, we meet types with graceful and well-proportioned figures. The voluptuous instincts are strongly developed in most of them, and may be traced in their languorous eyes, thick lips, indolent tone, and comparative slowness of speech. As a rule they are not muscular, and they seem to have little power of resisting disease. Tuberculosis, especially, claims many victims among them. They are habitually courageous, bold, intelligent, very talkative, and extremely imaginative. From the moral point of view, however, it must be acknowledged that it is not possible to place a blind confidence in their loyalty or their probity.

They have black or chestnut hair, inclining to redness at times; and it is almost always curly, very rarely straight. Their eyes are of chestnut-brown, sometimes a little greenish. Their teeth are less protruding and less regular than those of the black. In some of them the alveolar prognathism and the dark colouring of the Malpighian mucous layer are quite visible. Their complexion varies considerably, from a dark yellowish or olive to a dull white. They are usually dolichocephalic and platyrrhine; the cephalic and nasal index, however, vary over an extensive scale. As agricultural workers the *metis* are obviously inferior to the blacks, whose physical

robustness and muscular strength they have not inherited. They have scarcely shown any capacity for commercial or industrial life. As a rule, they squander what they have, are irresistibly fond of ostentation, are unpractical in their affairs, versatile, and intemperate in their enterprises. No one, however, can dispute that they are keenly intelligent and have a disposition for letters and science, and a fair political capacity. The *metis* of Brazil have given birth down to our own time to poets of no mean inspiration, painters, sculptors, distinguished musicians, magistrates, lawyers, eloquent orators, remarkable writers, medical men, and engineers, who have been unrivalled in their technical skill and professional ability. As politicians they are clever, insinuating, and very acute in profiting by any favourable opportunity to secure a position; they are usually energetic and courageous in the struggle, in which they use every weapon with equal zest.

From all this it is clear that, contrary to the opinion of many writers, the crossing of the black with the white does not generally produce offspring of an inferior intellectual quality; and if these half-breeds are not able to compete in other qualities with the stronger races of the Aryan stock, if they have not so pronounced an instinct of civilisation as the latter, it is none the less certain that we cannot place the *metis* at the level of really inferior races. They are physically and intellectually well above the level of the blacks, who were an ethnical element in their production.

The co-operation of the *metis* in the advance of Brazil is notorious and far from inconsiderable. They played the chief part during many years in Brazil in the campaign for the abolition of slavery. I could quote celebrated names of more than one of these *metis* who put themselves at the head of the literary movement. They fought with firmness and intrepidity in the Press and on the platform. They faced with courage the gravest perils to which they were exposed in their struggle against the powerful slave-owners, who had the protection of a conservative Government. They gave evidence of sentiments of patriotism, self-denial, and appreciation during the long campaign in Paraguay, fighting heroically at the boarding of the ships in the naval battle of Riachuelo and in the attacks on the Brazilian army, on numerous occasions in the course of this long South-American war. It was owing to their support that the Republic was erected on the ruins of the empire.

Prejudices of race and colour, which were never so firmly rooted in Brazil as one finds them in the population of North America, have lost much more of their strength since the Republic was proclaimed. As the new *régime* opened the door to all talent, many able mulattoes succeeded in gaining admission to the highest political offices in the

country. In the National Congress, the courts, higher education, the diplomatic world, and the highest branches of the administration, the mulattoes now occupy a prominent position. They have a great influence on the government of the country.

Marriages between *metis* and whites are no longer disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white.

The mulatto himself endeavours, by marriage, to bring back his descendants to the pure white type. Children of *metis* have been found, in the third generation, to present all the physical characters of the white race, although some of them retain a few traces of their black ancestry through the influence of atavism. The influence of sexual selection, however, tends to neutralise that of atavism, and removes from the descendants of the *metis* all the characteristic features of the black race. In virtue of this process of ethnic reduction, it is logical to expect that in the course of another century the *metis* will have disappeared from Brazil. This will coincide with the parallel extinction of the black race in our midst. When slavery was abolished, the black, left to himself, began to abandon the centres of civilisation. Exposed to all kinds of destructive agencies, and without sufficient resources to maintain themselves, the negroes are scattered over the thinly populated districts, and tend to disappear from our territory.

The mixed population of Brazil will, therefore, present a very different aspect in another century from that which it has to-day. The current of European immigration increasing every day, the white element of the population will after a time displace the elements which might retain any of the characters of the negro. Brazil will then become one of the chief centres of civilisation in the world. It will be the great market of the wealth of America, exploiting all its industries, enjoying every facility for transport in the conduct of foreign and intra-continental commerce, and filled with an active and enterprising population, which will occupy the large cities on the coast and then spread over the vast plains of the interior and along the winding rivers of South America.

"*Labor et Divitiæ*" is the motto carved over the gateway of the vast region of Brazil, in which there is room enough for all the races of the world to live in harmony and prosperity.

[Paper submitted in French.]

SEVENTH SESSION

POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR PROMOTING INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS

THE RESPECT WHICH THE WHITE RACE OWES TO OTHER RACES

By Baron D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT, *Paris*.

It is not my intention to speak of our duties ; I confine myself to an appeal to our self-interest.

It is to the interest of the white race to form some clear and precise estimate of the overwhelmingly large number of subject peoples whom so far we have succeeded in dominating, regarding them, in our pride, as definitely inferior to ourselves. That we should class them as such is, to a certain extent, intelligible ; for it is obvious that among the very various inhabitants of the globe not all have been equally endowed with like advantages. Some are favoured, others hardly treated in such matters as climate and soil, the attitude of their neighbours, or the accidents of their own history. There are native races who are truly wretched and so horribly oppressed by other natives that conquest by the white man has been their help and even their salvation. While admitting this, however, we are bound to add that our classification of native races as inferior has for centuries allowed a minority of human beings to take unscrupulous and unlimited advantage of a less privileged majority. Would the infamous traffic in negroes ever have been tolerated if it had not been justified by the degradation of these unfortunate beings to the position of game or cattle ? And so embedded in our customs has this view of them become that, in spite of the abolition of slavery, it has been necessary to found societies for the protection of natives much as we found societies for the protection of animals.

We have, then, to make a considerable advance if we would rid ourselves of race prejudice ; for such prejudice has its advantages and is sometimes no more than a pretext. The white race, while possessing generous instincts which no one can refuse to recognise, has, at the same time, in its position as the dominant race, found it convenient to regard itself as superior in order to attribute a goodly number of abuses to the necessities of advancing civilisation. As though it were really love of progress that impelled us to despoil native races of their possessions.

If the white race were more sincere and simply put in practice those Christian principles which the so-called lower races are accused of not knowing, it would take as its guide the most elementary of those principles : " Do not to others what you would not they should do unto you," and the race question, like the social question, would never arise at all. But these principles are not among our articles of export, and they are applied as seldom as possible. This is why I have often wished to put something else in their place : to wit, new duties, duties really human and not simply personal or national. With the actual and constantly increasing facilities for international communication, large duties, universal in character, will in the end supersede the whole body of domestic obligations. The French Revolution proclaimed the Rights of Man, but this is not enough. We must now pass on to a proclamation more disinterested, more general, more international in kind. The Hague Conferences are only a first step ; one day we shall begin to proclaim the Duties of Man. In Article 48 of the Convention for the peaceful settlement of international disputes the word " duty " has, at the suggestion of France, been inserted for the first time in an international agreement. This is a beginning !

Meanwhile, without pitching our demands too high, let us respect other races rather in our own interest than in theirs. It is to our interest as individuals and to our interest as nations.

In Tunis, where—thanks to the Protectorate, the Association policy, and the co-operation of natives in the Government—we have avoided the melancholy confusion and disorder of our Algerian *régime* and have at least made things better than they were, the good colonist has always, in my experience, been rewarded by the friendship of the natives, and the Government itself has reaped the fruit of its tolerance in the form of tranquillity, increase of revenues, and, in short, peaceful prosperity. Our toleration has spared us the necessity of undertaking ruinous expeditions. It is for this very reason that the Protectorate was so severely criticised by those who favour the policy of the strong hand.

It was in Tunis that I received my first training in the policy

of conciliation. In short, the explanation of French success in Tunis is that there we have tamed our own pride and not merely that of the Arabs.

It is justice and mildness that, in last resort, are at the root of every fruitful form of human activity. Violence only sows hatred; injustice only nurtures reprisal.

Every country where these self-evident elementary truths are still regarded as naïve and childish is a country that lies under threat of ruin. Punishment under one form or another awaits it, and terrible will this punishment be.

When foreign rule is imposed by violence, the first feeling inspired in the native is a grudging dislike and contempt. Little by little a deep but silent hatred gathers force, and all our organisation is at the mercy of a rising which will break forth at the first favourable opportunity.

In the Far East, for instance, what would become of our various establishments—French, English, Dutch, German, Russian, Spanish, or Portuguese—if they were merely isolated stations in a sea of hostile inhabitants? The only possible condition on which we Europeans can keep such people under our control is that our conquest of them should be a moral and not simply a material conquest. In other words, we must make them forget the material aspect of conquest in the moral, so that it may be a benefit and not a scourge.

I said long ago: the true defence of our colonies is the sympathy of the native. Against hatred which waits and bides its time we can solace ourselves only with illusions—illusions that cheat none but the ignorant.

Nor is this all. We European colonisers are threatened by yet another punishment which already looms in sight. Take your stand in some great military seaport, and watch the troops returning from the colonies with all the air and prestige of conquerors. Where is the white man, however excellent, who can be perfectly certain that in the great wide spaces of our various European colonies he will be able to resist the terribly demoralising effect of unlimited power, conjoined with the influences of solitude and climate? Where is the white man who has not in Africa and Asia felt himself to be more or less *master*, with power to act as he will, with power to oppress? . . .

Thus there is a tendency—however much our better representatives may resist it and protest against it—a regrettable and retrograde tendency among white men once left to their own devices to cultivate and foster deliberately a brutality whose evil traditions they then bring back with them to their mother-state;

so that the harm we thought we could inflict with impunity upon others returns on our own heads. He whose aim it was to rule has become a slave. The poison he meant to spread around him has entered his own veins.

Fortunately, there is no excess which does not provoke its own reaction and end by arousing a movement of protest. Thus among the explorers and officers in our colonies and the enterprising men of action who are fired with ideals of public utility, we find some admirable individuals—apostles, indeed, atoning by their virtue for the misdeeds of their fellows. As elsewhere, so here, only with more brutal vividness, the struggle goes on between good and evil. On the one side are the old instincts of pirate and slave-dealer; on the other, the soul of the saint. Here, as elsewhere, he who rises above himself exalts therewith both his country and the human race. But this does not solve the problem. It only sets it in clearer relief. We may sum it up as follows: the white man whose only aim it is to be feared by the native is alike detestable and detested. He is drawing down upon himself, his country, and his race a vengeance which perhaps will only reach his sons, but which will be the more terrible in proportion as it is slow to work itself out. Thus the last word as regards the education of the native is that we must first educate the white man, cultivate the spirit of justice, sink our pride and respect the rights of others.

These high-sounding words were once words only. They were laughed at. But to-day they live, they are spread abroad, they arrest attention. Say what one will, have I not seen them triumph at the two Hague Conferences where the representatives of so-called "inferior" races have entered freely into discussion with those of the greater Powers, have secured, amid universal applause, the victory of wiser and more generous principles, and have made Force begin to bend before Right?

I know well that this is only a beginning. But these great discussions serve to induct us in the pathway which leads to the discovery of the world and the better understanding of our own nature. These international meetings have the happy effect of stimulating education among the nations represented—national education, moral education, and, in fine, general education. They teach us to discipline ourselves and our egoism; they illumine our conscience, and show us where our true interest lies. The rest will then be added unto us. White men will win more respect and love in so far as they are really superior and not merely stronger and better educated.

Already great headway has been made. It was an enormous step

in advance when, at the Hague Conference, all States, irrespective of race or size, were accorded one vote each, of precisely equal value. There will be no going back upon this. Each nation must have its own voice, its own right, its own share in the world's work.

We are at the dawn of a new era. Our concern now is to hold fast that which we have gained. Let us each grasp our opportunity by contributing through the channels of our own national organisation to the organisation of mankind in general.

[Paper submitted in French.]

INTERNATIONAL LAW, TREATIES, CONFERENCES, AND THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

By Dr. WALTHER SCHÜCKING,

*Professor of Law at the University of Marburg, Associate of the
Institute of International Law.*

1. *Extension of the Commonwealth of International Law.*—There has always been a reciprocal relation between facts and law, and the development of the law has ever proceeded in such a way that every change in the facts has given rise to new rules, which must answer the new needs. As long as the civilised States of Europe lived their own special lives, the commonwealth of international law was restricted to the "Christian States of Europe." The inhabitants of the other countries of the world were only comprised in this international range, in so far as they were subject to the domination of the colonising Powers of Europe. From the time, however, when the United States of America formed an independent polity, international law lost, from the geographical point of view, its European character (1783). The rapid development of general commercial relations led to an extension of the common principles of international law to every part of the world.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the revolt of the colonies of Central and South America led to their establishment as independent States, but here again there was question only of descendants of the Latin world in Europe and of a Christian civilisation. The extension, however, did not stop there. Quite apart from the extraordinary political expansion of the colonising Powers of Europe, which, during the last few generations, have succeeded in incorporating into their respective States subjects of a different race, living under the most diverse legal forms, and including them passively in the common range of international law, the characteristic feature of recent development is that the

mutual approach of races has had the effect of enrolling non-Christian and non-European States among the representatives of international law.

The events of the Crimean war led to the administration of Turkey by a "European concert," as it used to be called (1856). At the same time the Hellespont was declared free, and the first Power of Mongolian origin encroaching upon Africa and Asia was admitted on an equal footing in the commonwealth of States. By the treaties concluded between 1894 and 1896 Japan, on account of its peculiar development and its strict observance of the law of nations during the war with China in 1894, was implicitly included in the commonwealth of civilised States by the suppression of consular jurisdiction. This success was even more important to the Mongol race than the preceding, since the genuine Turks could not be regarded as pure Mongols on account of their crossing with the Aryan and Semitic races. San Domingo, the mulatto republic, and Haiti, the negro republic, in the West Indies, are to-day indisputably, and with full rights, included in the commonwealth of States, and represent in it an element of Ethiopian or negro race.

We see, then, that the three races of men are already represented among the forty-three states of the international commonwealth (Lichtenstein, San Marino, and Monaco being excluded on account of their small proportions). It is beyond question that other non-Christian and non-European races will before long be admitted into this group of civilised States. The question is already raised whether China, Persia, and Siam, which were represented at the two international Hague Congresses, ought not to be regarded as subject to international public law.

The Chinese Empire, which has four hundred million inhabitants, is imitating Japan in remodelling its civilisation on European lines. Its impending entrance into the group of civilised nations will be an event of considerable importance to the Mongol race. The admission of Siam into the corporation of international law, for which the way has been prepared by the reforms of the late King Chu-La-Long-Korn, will strengthen the Mongol element; while the admission of the Persians will bring a people of Caucasian origin into the commonwealth of international law, which was established by the cognate Indo-Germanic race. The complete international equality of Persia, China, and Siam will be indicated, as in the case of Japan, by the absolute and thorough opening of the country to the citizens of all civilised States, and will at the same time bring about a peaceful and a closer approach of the various races. The other, the "semi-civilised" States—Liberia, Abyssinia, and Morocco—will before long come into contact with the commonwealth of inter-

national law. The chief objections that were brought against the Republic of Liberia, in regard to the claim of equality of rights, have disappeared with the concession of that equality to the negro republic of San Domingo, as was stated above. The Chamitic branch of the Caucasian race will shortly be represented in the family of States by the Moors and the Abyssinians, whose States have attracted the attention of the colonising Powers of Europe. Finally, Afghanistan and the small independent States of the Himalaya, Bhutan, Nepaul, and the small Arabian States, will also be drawn into the circle of civilised States, assuming that they maintain their independence.

In every case the expansion proceeds by the advance of some of the non-European States to the rank of equal members in the sphere of international law, by the progressive Europeanisation of the non-European parts of the world. The semi-civilised States are already recognised as contracting parties, and international law holds good for the full extent of these contracts. It remains for them to raise their status to such a level that they will be entitled to equal rights in international law; while the States which have an older civilisation are bound to deduce the necessary juristic consequences from the new situation, and, setting aside racial prejudice, recognise non-European States as equal members in the international commonwealth of law.

2. *Treaties and Associations of States.*—The commonwealth of international law has not merely been geographically enlarged, and made to include a larger number of subjects, in the last few generations; juristic life within its sphere has become infinitely more active. It is usually said that the idea of a community of interests was developed in the course of the nineteenth century. It seems to me more correct to say that we have for some time felt the need of having an international organisation in harmony with the international community of interests. This tendency is seen in the large number of collective contracts. In each case they effect a union of a certain number of States for the regulation of some matter of international importance. In this way smaller associations for special purposes have been formed within the large circle of public international law. The fact that the most different races of men are interested in these particular associations, or at least in one or other of them, is extremely important in view of the mutual approach of races.

In point of fact we have not only the passive participation of certain colonial territories, introduced by a European Power into its own association (for instance, England bringing all its colonies into the International Union of Berne for the protection of Literary

and Artistic Works in 1886), but we also find a large number of sovereign and vassal States of non-European origin taking part on an equal footing in these associations of States. We can find in the midst of the universal commonwealth of States some that have not reached the general level. Turkey and Zanzibar, for instance, were associated with the "Congo Act" in 1885. Turkey, Japan, and China belong to the more restricted association which was formed in 1888 to guarantee the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Japan, China, Persia, Siam, and Egypt are associated in the "International Union for the Publication of Customs' Tariffs," established at Brussels in 1890.

The Universal Postal Union, which was founded by the Paris Convention (1878) at the proposal of Germany, is another example; it embraces nearly the whole of the inhabited earth. Japan, Persia, Siam, Egypt, and Tunis belong also to the Universal Telegraphic Union, founded in 1865, which was the first administrative commonwealth of international law. Turkey, San Domingo, Japan, and Tunis are also participating members of the "International Contract for the Protection of Submarine Telegraphic Cables." Japan and Persia are likewise members of the International Radiotelegraphic Union of 1908. Japan has already joined the International Union for the Propagation and Unification of the Metrical System. Tunis, Japan, and San Domingo belong to the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property (1883), and Haiti, Tunis, Japan, and Liberia belong to the Berne Convention (1886) for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works. Egypt, Persia, and Tunis, at least, all joined the International Union of Public Hygiene in 1903, the convention establishing which was completed at Rome in 1907. Turkey, China, Persia, Egypt, and even Abyssinia, took part in the International Agricultural Union founded at Rome in 1905, on the praiseworthy initiative of the King of Italy. The Act and the Conference of Brussels for the Suppression of the Slave-trade, to which Turkey, Zanzibar, Persia, and Liberia have given their adhesion, prove that the most different races can unite on matters which are not merely of commercial and economic interest; and we have further evidence of the humanitarian tendency of these countries in the Brussels Act for the Regulation of Arms—Turkey and Liberia alone, of the above-named Powers, being associated in this Act.

Special authorities have been created in each case to ensure the carrying out of the projects which are contemplated in the various collective contracts I have just quoted. The International Commission, however, for the carrying out of the Act for the Navigation of the Congo has never intervened, and the International Commission

for carrying out the contract on the Suez Canal was suppressed in virtue of an understanding between France and England (1904). The other common administrative entities which we have enumerated above have special organs of their own. They have international conferences, international offices, directing staffs, international commissions, and arbitration tribunals. Apart from the "International Union for the Suppression of the Slave-trade," all the administrative associations of public international law employ the international conference as their chief instrument. In the case of the Universal Postal Union this conference is entitled a Congress, and its sittings are arranged by contract. International offices have been formed and developed on the model of the most important central offices of the kind; those of the International Telegraphic Union and the Universal Postal Union are at Berne. The International Office of Radiotelegraphy is incorporated in the office of the International Telegraphic Union. There are also at Berne the office of the Union for the Protection of Industrial Property, and that of the Union for the Protection of Works of Letters and Art. The International Office of Weights and Measures, and that of Public Hygiene, founded respectively in 1903 and 1907, are at Paris. The Central Offices for the Suppression of the Slave-trade are at Zanzibar and at Brussels. In the latter city is also the office for the Publication of Customs' Tariffs. The International Agricultural Institute is at Rome.

These central offices are not organs of the individual State, but committees of international law, of which they are the international representatives. Switzerland and Belgium have been appointed the representatives, respectively, for the supervision and direction of the function of the Telegraphic Union at Berne, with its two subdivisions: the Universal Post Office and the central offices for the Protection of the Rights of Authors at Berne; and the office for the Publication of Customs' Tariffs and for the Suppression of the Slave-trade at Brussels. On the other hand, the International Unions of Weights and Measures and of Public Hygiene have created special authorities, independent of the territorial power, and to these is confided, among other functions, the supervision of the corresponding international office. This type of organisation has rightly been described as the best for central international offices, because it withdraws them entirely from the exclusive control of the State in which they are situated. Such an international commission is set up by the International Union of Weights and Measures at Paris; it is composed of forty members, who must all belong to different States, and they are elected by the Conference of States, which meets at Paris at least once in six years. There

is a similar commission, the Committee for the Supervision of the International Office of Public Hygiene at Paris, which must meet at least once a year, each State is represented by a delegate chosen by itself. The sphere of action of this committee will probably be enlarged by the incorporation, sooner or later, of the earlier Sanitary Commissions of Constantinople, Egypt, Tangiers, and Teheran. These commissions are connected with the police and penal force in the sphere of their activity. Finally, we have mentioned the Arbitration Tribunal as an organ of these international unions of States. This Tribunal is enforced for certain judicial questions in connection with the Universal Postal Union, and is optional for the Radiotelegraphic Union.

We have now surveyed the collective civilising work which has already been accomplished by the races of the East and the West by means of the particular Unions of international law, of which the structure is known to us. It is needless to insist further on the great importance these Associations would have in securing a closer approach of the various races of men, if they were extended as widely as possible, like the Universal Postal Union. It is further desirable that those administrative groups of international public law, whose sphere of action does not yet extend beyond the States of Europe and America, should include the States of alien races.

That applies, for instance, to the International Geodesical Union, with an office at Potsdam, founded in 1864 on the initiative of Prussia, which has a purely scientific object. It applies again to the International Union for the Regulation of the Manufacture of Sugar, which has an office at Brussels; Peru is the only American State that belongs to it. Above all, it is desirable that the extension of the network of railways should be accompanied by the territorial transformation of the International Union of Railway Transport, which is as yet confined to Europe; it was established at Berne in 1890, and has its central office there.

The importance of this development appears to be even greater when we reflect that there already exist in these conventions the groundwork of a code of international commercial law, with regulations for civil procedure. Similarly, the extension of the sphere of the law of universal exchange, which is in process of development, and private international maritime law, with which three diplomatic conferences have already been occupied, so that they should be more widely recognised according to the exigencies of the relations of commerce and navigation, is absolutely necessary. The States of all races would thus find themselves interconnected, and we should in the end be led to elaborate a law for the whole commerce

of the world. The great work of the codification of private international law is conducted primarily and partially within the purely European circle, but we already see the modest beginning of a universal law in the fact that Japan took part, in 1904, in the fourth conference on this subject.

Thus the problem of the closer approach of the various races of men is not restricted to the creation of associations between States that already exist; it is also directed to secure a larger participation in the efforts of the civilised States of Europe, with a view to creating international laws for each juristic point that has a world-wide importance.

3. *The Importance of the Hague Conferences and of the Court of Arbitration.*—During the last ten years we have to record, besides the expansion of the commonwealth of international law and the establishment of certain important associations, the profound modification that the commonwealth of law has undergone in its juristic structure. This transformation consists in the fact that the commonwealth has converted itself into a union of organised States. The great commonwealth has become a world-wide union of States. This is a result of the Hague Conferences, of which the importance to civilisation is not sufficiently recognised. It is the dawn of a new era of a world-wide confederation of States. There was a time when the Cæsars of Rome, from one centre, dominated the whole of the known world, and the great powers of the Middle Ages, the Empire and the Papacy, endeavoured to restore this universal monarchic domination. Then the universal monarchy of the Middle Ages dissolved into an aggregation of Western States. In our time these States, augmented by those of the Far East and of parts of the world that were unknown to the Romans, are forming one great whole.

The importance of the first Hague Conference does not consist in the codification of the laws of continental warfare, which was accomplished there, but in the establishment of the Court of Arbitration. The States which participated in the first Hague Conference—among which the Asiatic States, China, Japan, Persia, and Siam were included from the outset—really organised themselves into a “Confederation of States,” when they created a common instrument for maintaining peace in the commonwealth of international law. It matters little whether or no this title was immediately given to the new creation; in view of more timid minds it is as well that this was not done. But, as jurists, we are wont to speak of an association of States wherever we have a plurality of States with certain organs in common. In erecting a common tribunal, the civilised world created at the same time a union of international law, controlling the commonwealth of international public law.

Although in reality the permanent Court of Arbitration as yet consists only of a list of names from which the contending parties must choose their judges for each dispute, there is nevertheless an international office and commission, entitled the Council of Administration, just as in the case of particular associations under the law of nations. A periodical international Conference was not contemplated at first, but it has been found necessary for nearly all the Unions of international law, as well as for the general union of States. The first Hague Conference (1899) was followed by a second in 1907. The latter did not break up without expressing a hope of meeting again not later than 1915, and of making about two years' preparation for this third Conference. Thus the periodical character of the Hague Conferences is secured in fact, if not in law, and they will be, as in the case of special associations, the principal organ of the Union of States. In comparison with this completing of the commonwealth of international law by the association of States, the other achievements of the first Hague Conference are of secondary importance. The fact that in neither Conference was any practical measure taken in regard to the limitation of armaments does not diminish the service done in the direction of codifying international law.

Like every progressive organisation, the Association of States is engaged in creating its code. The first Hague Conference, amongst other things, codified the law of continental warfare, and extended the Geneva Convention to maritime law. When the Geneva Convention for continental warfare had been revised in 1906, the rules of war were completed at the second Hague Conference, and restrictive rules were imposed in regard to certain important points of maritime warfare, such as the question of submarine mines. In its entirety, however, the codification of the law of maritime warfare had to be referred to the third Conference, though the preliminary work was done by the Maritime Conference of London in 1909, in which only a restricted group of Powers, among which we are pleased to find Japan, took part.

One may say in a general way that, in the codification of the law of war, in which up to that time there was frequently much question of power, the States have already elucidated the most difficult chapters, and that the codification of the rules of the law of peace—for instance, in regard to the condition of envoys and consuls—is a thousand times easier. Consequently, if the codification of the law of war has already been accomplished in great part, the further step of incorporating the whole in a complete codified system may be expected before long. In this code all the rules which apply to the pacific solution of international conflicts must

find a place, as well as those which had to be created by the preceding Conferences : the Institute of International Commissions of Inquiry, and the Code of Procedure of the Hague Tribunal. Even before this code is completed, the international association of States is beginning to consolidate itself, in virtue of a process which converts the law of nations into a universal public law. The association of States, which was established in the first Hague Conference, had still the typical character of particular Unions; it was distinguished from them by the circumstance that it was not an administrative, but a judicial association, that was set up, and that the whole civilised world took part in it. Moreover, the association of States that was established had a purely co-operative structure in harmony with the character of the older international law. This commonwealth, therefore, consisted only in relations of State to State—relations which did not affect the sovereignty of any one of them. States alone could appeal to the Hague Tribunal; and it depended on themselves alone whether they appealed or no, on account of the optional character of the Arbitration Court.

The second Hague Conference created, in the "International Prize Court," an institution which gives quite a new character to the association of States. This Court is not optional; the number of its members and its competence are settled once for all; the judges have to give a solemn assurance that they will act in the interest of the association of States. In questions of fact and law, the legal procedure is to pass from the national courts to the international court. The International Prize Court may abolish national laws when they involve any departure from justice and equity; it may also create new laws when no recognised law exists. But, above all, any private individual who has suffered an injury, whether he belongs to a neutral State or to one of the parties to the war, may invoke the protection of the International Prize Court against an unfavourable decision of the hostile State which has effected the capture; and the injured citizen of the hostile State cannot be prevented from doing this by the country of his origin, as may happen in the case of a neutral citizen.

It has been said in explanation of this contradiction of the previous rules of international public law, that in this case the contract is concluded between the States in favour of a third party; but those who say this seem to overlook the fact that the private individual can never be a third person according to the older law of nations. It has been said that in future, in the case of prizes, the individual citizen would be regarded as a subject of international law; it is more correct to say that the law of nations has really lost its specific character on this point. The organisation of the

world has proceeded so far that international law is being, as was already said, converted into a world-wide public law. Von Liszt rightly says that the agreement in regard to the International Prize Court is the first deliberate step of the co-operative organisation towards becoming a dominating organisation. But when we speak of a dominating organisation we do not mean, as in the earlier terminology, an association under international law, but an association under public law. The sovereignty of States is secured within the sphere of the association of public law only by the provision that the whole organisation rests on a contract which may be nullified at the end of twelve years. In the meantime we should have, so to say, a temporary confederation as the basis of the association of the Prize Court.

We have here a prospect beyond all our hopes for the development of international law. It was an inconsistency on the part of the German Empire, on whose initiative this court was founded, to have frustrated the establishment of a universal obligatory Arbitration Tribunal. The German delegate, Zorn, rightly said that an obligatory arbitral jurisdiction would encroach much less on the sovereignty of States, seeing that the obligation would be relative and would be rejected in all cases in which the honour, the independence, or the vital interests of a State were at stake. The German Empire cannot very well sustain this contradictory attitude. The Universal Arbitration Court has been developing, since more than a hundred contracts between States have been concluded, in which on each occasion two States made the Arbitration Court obligatory. The development of international law seeks to replace the individual contract by a collective contract; the triumph of the obligatory Arbitration Court is assured by this fact. The Powers have already unanimously adopted, in the second Hague Conference, a resolution recognising the principle of the obligatory sentence of an arbitrator, and affirming that certain differences are of a nature to be submitted to the obligatory judgment of an arbitrator, without restriction.

Thus the constitution of an International Prize Court will help to bring into existence the obligatory Court of Arbitration. One cannot, of course, be content when there is question of an obligatory judgment, with the former Permanent Court, which, as is well known, merely consists of a list of names. It will be necessary either to make the Prize Court accessible to common jurisdiction or add to the "Permanent Arbitration Court" a really permanent court in the shape of the "Court of Arbitral Justice," which the second Conference had proposed. Unfortunately, this project could not be presented for the signature of the whole Conference, as they had not

been able to come to agreement either in regard to the number of judges or the duration of their functions. No agreement was reached because, on the one hand, the number of the judges would have to be limited, and, on the other hand, the small States—to the detriment of progress—would not surrender their rights in the formation of the Court. In reality, the dogma of the equal right of all States is destroyed by the fact that in the Prize Court the seats are distributed on a graduated scheme. This dogma was only valid so far as States lay side by side without any connection. The progressive organisation of the world demands a distribution of votes in proportion to the virtual importance of each State in the body of the Union.

The possibility of the appearance of the individual as plaintiff before the International Prize Court helps in another direction to fill a gap in the law of nations. It is true that, in the interests of peace, the second Hague Conference recognised up to a certain point the doctrine of Drago: in future armed force cannot be employed against a debtor State to ensure the fulfilment of its obligations, but the private individual always depends on the good-will or the energy of his country. If the second Hague Conference has granted the individual the right to submit to the International Prize Court the legality of certain acts of war by which he has suffered, there is no reason why a Hague Court should not be made accessible to the complaints, in private law, of the citizens of one State against another, and why a creditors' court should not be set up for such cases. This innovation should be carried into effect by the third Hague Conference.

Lastly, we have the question whether the world-wide confederation of States will restrict itself to judicial functions. Its natural development implies that it should take charge of the administrative associations, such as the Universal Postal Union, which spread over the whole world; and that, moreover, it should incorporate the corresponding authorities, and bring into action new associations of the same kind with their proper authorities.

What the most profound of German thinkers—Kant—regards as the great problem of humanity, a problem "toward the solution of which nature herself impels us," namely, "the constitution of a human society with common control of the law," is already being solved.

We started from the fact that the disturbance of social conditions by the unparalleled extension of commerce has reacted upon law, and we referred at the beginning of this dissertation to the relations between the facts and the law. New facts modify the law, and, on the other hand, the significance of new laws points to

new forces. If, in the future, as von Liszt says, every citizen of a constituent State in the Association of States is a conjoint subject—a citizen simultaneously of the State and the Confederation—who will venture to calculate the significance, in regard to the mutual approach of the races of men, of the proud words that every man will be able to repeat in all places: *Civis mundi sum?*

[*Paper submitted in French.*]

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND SUBJECT RACES

By Sir JOHN MACDONELL, C.B.,

Professor of Comparative Law, University of London; Master of the Supreme Court.

I PROMISED, somewhat rashly, your Secretary to contribute to the proceedings of the Congress a paper on International Arbitration, a subject, the importance and opportuneness of which no one in these days questions. On reflection, however, it appeared to me—and I think that your Secretary admitted—that while of interest for all who sympathise with the objects of the Congress, arbitration had only indirect bearings upon much of its primary work. Great though the achievements of Arbitration have already been, great though its future is likely to be, one must not be blind to its limitations. It is an instrument for settling disputes between Governments; in particular, disputes likely to give rise to difficulties between States which diplomacy fails to settle. No doubt some of these questions are at bottom racial; such, for example, are the recurring difficulties as to emigration between China and Japan on the one hand and Great Britain and her Colonies and the United States on the other hand. These difficulties take an economic form; they originate in racial antagonism and prejudice. And even when no racial element is obviously and indisputably present, the real though latent difficulty in the way of a settlement of disputes may be the repugnance or distrust arising from race prejudice and misunderstanding.

International Arbitration does not touch, nor is it proposed that it should touch, many internal and domestic questions profoundly interesting to races which are not dominant. I take almost at random racial questions which happen to be of late uppermost: the condition of the Jews in Russia and Poland; the Poles under Russian rule; the Roumanians in Hungary; the Finns in Russia; the Macedonians and Armenians in Turkey; the East Indians in South Africa; the natives of the Congo State under Belgian rule. International Arbitration does not help to solve, except very remotely and indirectly, the problems which these names recall. To-day each State says, and will long continue to say, "I must be master in my

own house." That position must be accepted—at all events for the time. We must look elsewhere for a solution (so far as possible) of some of the great problems due to differences and collisions of races.

But—and it is the chief object of my inquiry—it may be of interest to endeavour to examine whether the ends which the originators of the Congress had in view cannot be furthered by other means than arbitration ; and, in particular, by a clearer recognition of duties to subject races than now exists ; by better organisation of existing agencies, and by the creation of new organisations. I am sensible of the difficulty of making useful suggestions as to questions, so many, so varied in character, and, it may be said, with so little in common. Not even a Leibnitz or a Humboldt or other great organisers of science could survey the whole of the vast field and map it out with full knowledge. My suggestions are offered only as hints which may elicit discussion and help clarify ideas. A further prefatory admission is needed. Great are the limitations of all machinery and organisations in accomplishing the chief aims in view. The walls of racial prejudice will not yield to mere organisation ; the spread of knowledge, the spirit of charity, and new ideals are the only solvents.

At the outset is the question : How far, if at all, is International Law applicable to the relations between subject and dominant, between civilised and uncivilised, races ? According to one view, they are not in any way applicable ; according to another, they are so, but only partially, and with many qualifications. I pass over as not meriting notice in this Congress the contention which is rarely nowadays made in so many words, that a high degree of civilisation carries with it a right to impose the will of the superior upon the inferior ; that as between them might is right and that the former may do exactly as they think fit in virtue of their superiority.¹

Turning to statements less uncompromising, I proceed to cite those of one or two writers. The first is by Mr. John Stuart Mill :—

"There is a great difference (for example) between the case in which the nations concerned are of the same, or something like the same, degree of civilisation, and that in which one of the parties to the situation is of a high, and the other of very low, grade of social improvement. To suppose that the same international customs, and the same rules of international morality, can obtain between one civilised nation and another, and between civilised nations and barbarians, is a grave error, and one which no statesman can fall into, however it may be with those who, from a safe and irresponsible position, criticise statesmen. Among many reasons why the same rules cannot be applicable to

¹ Trione (*Gli Stati Civili Nei loro Rapporti Guiridici coi Popoli Barbari*, p. 14) refers to Ize, who cites Hegel and Cousin as holding this opinion. In Ihering's *Geist des römischen Rechts*, vol. i., p. i., are some remarkable assertions of the right of powerful civilised nations to force their commerce upon Eastern nations.

situations so different, the two following are among the most important. In the first place the rules of ordinary international morality imply reciprocity. But barbarians will not reciprocate. They cannot be depended on for observing any rules. Their minds are not capable of so great an effort, nor their wills sufficiently under the influence of distant motives. In the next place nations which are still barbarous have not got beyond the period during which it is likely to be for their benefit that they should be conquered and held in subjection by foreigners. Independence and nationality, so essential to the due growth and development of a people further advanced in improvement, are generally impediments to them. . . . A violation of great principles of morality it may easily be ; but barbarians have no rights as a nation, except a right to such treatment as may, at the earliest possible period, fit them for becoming one. The only moral laws for the relation between a civilised and a barbarous Government are the universal rules of morality between man and man" (*Dissertations*, iii., p. 167).

I have quoted this passage as expressing the views of those—and they are many—who lay stress on the absence of reciprocity and the benefits of civilisation as justifying the application of different rules from those which are in force between civilised States. Bluntschli lays stress on the second of the above grounds :—

"Lorsque la contrée qui ne fait partie du territoire d'aucun état est possédée par des tribus barbares, ces dernières ne peuvent pas être expulsées par les colons des nations civilisées ; on les laissera émigrer en paix et leur fournira un dédommagement équitable. L'Etat colonisateur a le droit d'étendre sa souveraineté sur le territoire occupé par des peuplades sauvages pour favoriser la civilisation et l'extension des cultures" (p. 280).

Here is another way of putting the same doctrine :—

"C'est le droit naturel, non le droit international, qui est applicable aux rapports des nations civilisées avec les nations de l'Asie. . . . En Asie le droit international se transforme en droit naturel, lequel exige également que la parole donnée soit exécutée consciencieusement, que la vie et la propriété d'autrui soient reconnues saintes et inviolables, que les mauvais instincts et passions cèdent leur place aux impulsions justes, honnêtes et généreuses" (Martens, "La Russie et l'Angleterre dans l'Asie Centrale," *Revue de Droit International*, 1879, p. 241).

This is the way in which the problem presents itself to some other modern writers :—

"Der Unterschied in der Kultur berechtigt den Europäischen Staat nicht, im Verkehr mit einem minderkultivierten Volke, z. B., Papua, alle Regeln des Völkerrechts ausser Acht zu lassen. Es ist vielmehr davon auszugehen, dass jeder Staat die Grundrechte eines jeden ändern—wenn auch von wenig gebildeten Menschen geleiteten—Staates so lange durchaus respektiert, als es die Ausübung der eigenen Grundrechte irgend gestattet" (Garais, p. 40).

"European States will be obliged, partly by their sense of honour, partly by their sense of their interests, to be guided by their own artificial rules in dealing with semi-civilised States when the latter have learned enough to make the demand, long before a reciprocal obedience to those rules can be reasonably expected" (Hall, 6th ed., pp. 40, 41).

These statements are, for several reasons, not satisfactory ; if not inaccurate, they lack precision and definiteness. In the first

place, the modern practice of nations and the teaching of modern writers do not, on the whole, whatever may be done on particular occasions, accord with some of these opinions. Modern text-books treat, sometimes at great length, the relations and duties of civilised States to inferior or backward races. In point of fact there has always been some recognition of duties by civilised nations to uncivilised or semi-civilised nations with which the latter have been brought into contact : recognition generally imperfect ; often compatible with gross cruelty ; often serving as a cover or excuse for wrong-doing. One of the chief subjects of discussion among the earliest students of International Law (*e.g.*, Francisco Victoria and Baldassarre de Ayala) was the relations and duties of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors to the indigenous inhabitants.

Further it is to be noted that there is not a clear line of separation between civilised and barbarous nations ; they often differ from each other by small degrees ; the sharp distinction drawn in the passage which I have quoted from Mill between civilised nations and barbarous, does not help one in solving the actual problems, which for the most part relate to the dealings of nations with different types of civilisations, the relative value of which in the eyes of impartial observers, if such existed, might be dubious. What is the test of superiority ? There is the often suggested test of proficiency in war, according to which the Turks some centuries ago were probably supreme among all nations, the Italians, contemporaries of Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, not excepted. There is the test of wealth ; a test the justice of which, if applied to individuals, would be denied. There is the test of morality, the existence of a legal moral code and conformity of conduct thereto, and a test the application of which, if possible, might lead to startling results. Nor is the distinction between the progressive and non-progressive races so clear to modern ethnologists as it was to those who knew little. The so-called stationary races are often merely those whose changes are unrecorded. As Professor Royce justly remarks, this test has never been so fairly applied by civilised nations as to give exact results. So long as there exists, what M. Tarde calls, the "irresistible orgueil primitif que porte toute tribu, si infime qu'elle soit, à se considérer supérieure à ses voisins," the application of a well-accepted test is impossible. The superiority for which writers such as Gobineau and Houstin Chamberlain claim will never be conceded ; but what is clear is that the world would be the poorer if one type of civilisation were to be universal ;¹ what we cannot be sure of is, that an unpromising race, if left to itself, may not be the starting-point of a development which will enrich mankind.

¹ See the disheartening facts as to the benefits of civilisation collected by Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, iii., p. 233, &c.

I am only summarising the teaching of a great majority of writers when I say that, apart from the conventions which I am about to mention, some at least of the rules of International Law are assumed by almost all writers to apply to such communities ; even as to communities outside the purview of International Law, there are duties to be performed, duties which may be stated and formulated. At all events this holds good of communities with regular Governments, though with social organisations and moral ideas unlike our own.

One of the most characteristic modern developments in the relations between States generally, between dominant and subject races, is the establishment of Protectorates by powerful States over the weaker, some of the latter being on a plane of civilisation equal to that of the former. Gradually are being evolved principles as to the reciprocal duties of protecting or protected States, including the treatment of the indigenous inhabitants.

A few words as to the conventions to which I have referred. There exists a group of treaties by which some of the chief States of the world bind themselves to perform certain duties towards the non-dominant races or parts of them. One universally recognised duty is that, chiefly in the interest of inferior or backward races, the slave trade, dependent necessarily upon supplies from such races, should be put down and should be treated as a heinous crime. I am not writing the history of the Slave Trade or the Emancipation Movement. I merely recall the pronouncement of the Allied Powers at Vienna in 1815, and at Verona in 1822, and the Quintuple Treaty of 1841. A landmark in the history of the subject is the Berlin Conference of 1884-5. It elucidated principles, it concentrated action ; it was the beginning of a new policy as to the Slave Trade on land as well as sea. By Article VI. of the Berlin Act the Powers agreed to watch over the preservation of the native tribes and to care for the improvement of their conditions, of their moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery and especially the Slave Trade. Article IX. was as follows :—

“Conformément aux principes du droit des gens, tels qu'ils sont reconnus par les puissances signataires, traite des esclaves étant interdite, et les opérations qui, sur terre ou sur mer, fournissent des esclaves à la traite devant être également considérées comme interdites, les puissances qui exercent, ou qui exerceront, souveraineté ou une influence dans les territoires formant le bassin conventionnel du Congo, déclarent que ces territoires ne pourront servir ni de marché ni de voie de transit pour la traite des esclaves, de quelque race que ce soit. Chacune de ces puissances s'engagent à employer tous les moyens en son pouvoir pour mettre fin à ce commerce et pour punir ceux qui s'en occupent.”

Among the latest measures of consequence was the Brussels Anti-Slavery Act of July 20, 1890, which came into force on October 1, 1892. The Powers exercising sovereignty or a protec-

torate in Africa bound themselves (Article III.) to pursue gradually, according as circumstances permit, "la répression de la traite, chacune dans ses possessions respectives et sous sa direction propre." By Article XV. they further bound themselves to watch "les routes suivies sur leur territoire par les trafiquants des esclaves, d'y arrêter les convois en marche ou de les poursuivre partout où leur action pourrait s'exercer légalement." Posts were to be established (Article XVI.) on such routes, with a view to intercept convoys and liberate the slaves. Chapter III. deals with the repression of the traffic on the high seas. Another set of international regulations related to the sale of liquor (Chapter VI.). The Brussels Act also contained restrictions on the importation of fire-arms. Article VIII. stated that one of the conditions of the development of the slave trade was the free introduction of weapons, and accordingly it forbade their importation, except in certain circumstances, in a defined area. Articles XC. and XCI. of the General Act say:

"Justement préoccupées des conséquences morales et matérielles qu'entraîne pour les populations indigènes l'abus des spiritueux, les Puissances signataires sont convenues d'appliquer les Articles XCI., XCII., et XCIII. dans une zone délimitée par le 20^{ème} degré latitude nord et par 22^{ème} degré latitude sud, et aboutissant vers l'ouest à l'océan Atlantique et vers l'est à l'océan Indien et à ses dépendances, y compris les des adjacentes au littoral jusqu'à 100 milles marins de la côte."

"Dans les régions de cette zone où il sera constaté que, soit à raison des croyances religieuses, soit pour autres motifs, l'usage des boissons distillées n'existe pas ou ne s'est pas développé, les Puissances en prohiberont l'entrée. La fabrication des boissons distillées y sera également interdite."

Article XCII. binds the signatories to impose in possessions or protectorates not subject to prohibition an import duty of 15 francs per hectolitre for the first three years and 25 francs afterwards. It was found that in the districts not subject to the prohibitive régime the importation of spirits was rapidly increasing, and accordingly the Powers agreed at a subsequent Conference held in Brussels in 1899 (Martens, *Recueil*, xxv., 543) to raise the import duty to 70 francs.

It is a matter of terminology, as to which I shall not presume to dogmatise, whether the agreements which I have mentioned form part of International Law or whether they are to be designated merely as indications of a common policy. I cannot say that those are unreasonable who hold that "l'Assemblée de Berlin a démontré qu'elle ne voyait point en eux des associations ou des individus en dehors de la communauté du droit des gens."¹

It is at least plain from this brief recital of facts that there is some recognition of the duties of great States to weak and subject

¹ Engelhardt, quoted by Trione, p. 18.

racés ; some recognition, too, of the need of joint action ; some agreement as to these duties. It is no less true that these duties are still imperfectly recognised ; that many points of importance are left unsettled ; and that the organisation, official and non-official, needed to make them really effective is imperfect and rudimentary. The development of a code of duties of nations towards the less fortunate or less gifted, or more backward, races may require time ; considering the slow rate at which the code of duties of civilised nations towards each other was worked out, it was possible that this new chapter may require much time. But some principles seem already fairly well recognised, and among them these—

1. If certain races are in the position of minors, not fit in their present condition to be their own masters, those who claim superiority and control ought to justify their position as guardians. The greater the unfitness of the former, the greater the duties imposed on the latter. Every Government asserting the right to control the destinies of such races ought to show by its conduct that it is not acting towards its wards as an unjust guardian ; that it is not exploiting their labour or squandering their estates. Could we say that the Native departments of all Governments with an indigenous population under their control, even now satisfied the test : “ The measure of your duties is their alleged unfitness ” ? What is no less clear is that in many respects the so-called guardians are the least capable of judging fairly whether they have fulfilled such duties. No other judge may have jurisdiction ; that circumstance does make them the less fallible.

2. There ought to be less of the intolerance of modern civilisation, equal to that of religious fanaticism ; scarcely surpassed by any displayed by the Spanish conquerors of Mexico or Peru. If they were merciless, they had fewer means of carrying out their will, and they had at all events moments of contrition and doubts whether their work was altogether good in the eyes of Heaven, while the self-satisfaction of modern civilisation is rarely broken by an admission of failure. I am tempted to cite, if only as a rebuke to self-complacency which is too common on this point, a remarkable document entitled : “ The true confession and protestation in the hour of death,” by one of the first Spanish conquerors of Peru, named Marcio Serra de Lejesama, in 1589. Lejesama begins by declaring that he desires to relieve his mind and to give notice to his Catholic Majesty King Philip of his regret that he had taken part in the discovery and conquering of the lands of the Yncas.

“ The said Yncas,” proceeds the repentant Conquisador, “ governed in such a way, that in all the land neither a thief, nor a vicious man, nor a bad dishonest woman was known. The men all had honest and profitable employment. The

woods and mines and all kinds of property were so divided that each man knew what belonged to him, and there were no law-suits. The Yncas were feared, obeyed, and respected by their subjects as a race very capable of governing. But we took away their land, and placed it under the government of Spain, and made them subjects. Your Majesty must understand that my reason for making this statement is to relieve my conscience, for we have destroyed this people by our bad examples. Crimes were once so little known among them that an Indian with one hundred thousand pieces of gold and silver in his house left it open, only placing a little stick across the door as a sign that the master was out, and nobody went in. But when they saw that we placed locks and keys on our doors, they understood that it was from fear of thieves, and when they saw that we had thieves amongst us, they despised us. All this I tell your Majesty to discharge my conscience of a weight that I may no longer be a party to these things. And I pray God to pardon me, for I am the last to die of all the discoverers and conquerors, as it is notorious that there are none left but me in this land or out of it, and therefore I now do what I can to relieve my conscience.”^{*}

I may not have searched diligently enough, but in the many narratives of modern explorations, conquerors and pioneers of civilisation, I can recall few expressions of regret so deep as that of the confession by the Spanish conqueror, few cases in which the conscience of a modern explorer or promoter smites him, and he is filled with doubts whether it was right to break up tribal organisations and convert into masses of shifting atoms what were once strong cohesive organisations, the rudiments of nations, if not nations full grown. Even when no cruelties have been practised towards native races, when on the contrary there has been a desire to deal fairly with them, the results have often been disastrous. The old tribal system is broken up, the best land is seized by settlers; the natives are stinted either in regard to pasturage or hunting grounds. They are lured away by the attraction of high wages, and they become broken tribeless men; imitating the worst vices of their new masters; cut off from their old nation; the authority of their chiefs gone, no authority replacing for these children of Nature that which has been destroyed.

Some of these evils are inevitable; it is the fashion to say or assume that all of them are so. Strange change of opinion, in old days it was supposed that the forces of Nature—the flood, the storm, the lightning, the elements, the difficulties of distance, were uncontrollable—all the very forces which modern science bends to its will. Alongside this confidence in the docility of physical forces, prevails a spirit bordering on fatalism in regard to the habits and conditions of men; a disbelief in the efficiency of laws or measures to avert or ameliorate a process of disintegration such as I have described; a conviction that man is not, as to his economical conditions, the master of his own fate or that of his kind., I am not

^{*} Quoted in the Introduction to the Travels of Piedro de Ciez de Leon, Hakluyt Society, 1864, p. xxxii, n.

going to turn aside to discuss all the questions here mooted ; questions far beyond my powers. But I am justified in mentioning certain dominant prejudices, taking many forms, which have done mischief and are still at work, in dealing with the aborigines. One of these is an undue sense—undue in any large view of the matter—of the value of the present prevalent form of civilisation. It appears in the assumption that there is one form of society to which all others must conform on pain of perishing. This prejudice makes people forget how many different types of civilisation there have been—the Greek, the Roman, the Christian, the theocratic, the military, the industrial type—and that there has never been agreement as to their merits.

If the intolerance of civilisation, with its *compelle intrare*, has done harm, mischievous, too, has been the notion that the so-called uncivilised world is made up of races all of a piece ; whereas under the vague description “uncivilised” are grouped a multitude of people radically different from each other ; strong and weak, good and bad, progressive and stationary ; some with the self-denying virtues in which are the roots of political aptitude ; others unstable, egotistical and incohesive. In the eighteenth century it was the fashion for a school of political writers here and in France to hold up the Otaheitans and South Sea Islanders as models to mankind ; as the uncorrupted natural men whom Rousseau extolled ; and to contrast them with the debased creation of civilisation with his luxury, his vices, his shame, and his crimes. Diderot and Voltaire delighted in placing the site of the Garden of Eden in a latitude and longitude not far from those of Otaheite, though by the way they perhaps glided lightly over the fact that some of these happy and virtuous people ate other happy and virtuous people. Read the accounts of the early navigators who visited these islands—Cook’s and Wallis’s, for example—and you see that those so-called savages had virtues of their own, were courteous, gentle, and contented, and had, in the broad acceptance of the term, a civilisation of their own. Here are the words of an English traveller who lately visited an island in one of the great African lakes.

“Happy little island, and happy islanders ! War never comes nigh them. They know nothing of the outside world. They seem to wish for nothing. Why should they ? They have all they want. May it be centuries before civilisation with its innumerable attendant evils finds out and robs little Kisi of the peace and contentment it now enjoys !” (“Circumnavigation of Lake Bangweolo,” by Mr. Weatherley, *Geographical Journal*, 1898, p. 254). (For an account of a people with many of the best attributes of real civilisation, see Mr. Torday’s recently published *Notes Ethnographiques sur les Bakuba et les Bushongo*.)

Let me quote the words in which William Penn—sagacious

and spacious-minded statesman who foresaw the difficulties which lay ahead—describes the Indians of Pennsylvania as he knew them.

"Don't abuse them, let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices and yielded them traditions for ill, and not for good things. . . . In liberality they excel, nothing is too good for their friend ; give them a fine gun, coat or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks ; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent ; the most merry creatures, that live, feast, and dance perpetually ; they never have much, nor want much ; wealth circulates like the blood ; all parts partake, and though none shall want what another has, yet exact observance of property" ("A General Description of the Province of Pennsylvania," Penn's *Works*, p. 703).

3. I note a further point. That the conditions upon which treaties between civilised Governments, not uncivilised or semi-civilised communities, should be wholly different from treaties concluded between equals. I am quoting a rule of law, but one based on good sense, when I say that contracts to which minors are parties are voidable unless to their advantage. We all know how wantonly this has been disregarded ; how the indigenous inhabitants have been tricked out of their lands ; how a colour of legality has been given to gross frauds (Deherpe, *Essai sur le développement de l'occupation*, 1903, p. 76). I fully believe that such frauds are much rarer than they were—the opportunity for them now seldom occurs. But the principle above stated needs to be set down clearly.

4. It seems a truism to say that these races should retain their means of existence ; a truism unfortunately often questioned in practice ; a truism with far-reaching consequences as to the land of tribes, as to the operations of promoters, and as to the granting of concessions. This principle implies a land system made for them as well as for the whites ; where they preponderate in number, one may fairly claim made more for them than for the latter.

The Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, laid down certain useful rules (Articles XXXIV. and XXXV.) as to the assumption of a protectorate over territories on the coast of the African Continent and the conditions of occupation. These rules relate only to the rights of parties to the Act ; they are silent as to the rights of the indigenous population in the land. It did not condemn the doctrine that such land if not occupied by a civilised state was *res nullius*, or prescribe the conditions upon which treaties relating to such land should be recognised.¹

¹ A proposal to that effect by Mr. Kasson, the representative of the United States, was put forward but rejected. The above is substantially in agreement with the proposal of Martitz, *Annuaire, Institut du Droit International*, ix., p. 280. "IX. Le droit international impose à la nation occupante le devoir de veiller à la conservation, à l'éducation, et à l'amélioration du bien-être moral et matériel des populations indigènes," &c.

It might also be thought a truism, were it not so often disregarded, to say that the indigenous population should have the opportunities of development in their own way—which means education suited to their needs ; no forcible conformity to one type.

5. The principle above stated implies something of reverence—at all events respect—towards these backward races ; a desire to preserve their customs and law (so far as not cruel and mischievous).

So much—and it is necessarily imperfect—as to a few of the doctrines which have already obtained partial recognition, but which need explicit statement and application. Next, as to the organisation needed to give effect to them. In these days we at once think of Parliaments. But all the non-dominant races cannot have Parliaments. Yet they may have voices ; not merely for the expression of political grievances, but for the maintenance and preservation of types of character and ideals ; for the furtherance of national literature with racial elements ; for the preservation of their institutions and monuments in art and literature ; organs for the attainment of aims which the State does not necessarily secure and often destroys or imperils.

(a) First and foremost there should be fairly frequent meetings such as the present ; gatherings from time to time when the whole situation may be reviewed, when people of different races may draw together, when the different forms which the same movement may take may be studied. If we must trust to public opinion, as is said, then public opinion should be enlightened by such gatherings as these. Sympathy ought to go hand in hand with knowledge, and it might be the object of such gatherings to study the scientific bases of truth, if any, underlying the theories as to race, and to discriminate between the mass of illusions and prejudices and scientific teaching. There should be more and more—and fortunately already there are many—societies representative of the interests of races. In no country, so far as I know, can Governments do all that is needed ; in some they may be positively hostile to objects which certain races have much at heart. Some time ago a few of my friends formed the South African Native Races Committee. Its main object was to obtain and diffuse accurate information as to the native population of South Africa. Perhaps its chief work so far has been to bring about the formation of two similar societies in that country. Of late it has endeavoured to aid in procuring funds for the establishment of a college for South African natives. I cannot but think there is plenty of room for societies with like objects.

(b) My last suggestion is difficult to state without saying too much or too little, without seeming to question or ignore the power of *diplomacy and the Press*. Often of late it must have been borne in

upon many that it was desirable to obtain accurate information as to some of the questions with which this Congress is concerned—information not only accurate, but universally accepted as such; co-operation by inquirers whose competence or disinterestedness could not be questioned. Perhaps some day such investigators, forming a staff of trustworthy experts, will be available to throw light upon questions as to which official and non-official accounts differ.

To sum up these suggestions:—Closely connected with, if not a part of, International Law is a group of duties on the part of dominant races to those under their control or influence. These duties, now imperfectly recognised, may be made clearer; they may be enlarged; the observance of them may be made stricter by wise co-operation. Prizing and preserving diversity of race, we may attain to something like unity in spirit and policy.

[Paper submitted in English.]

PERIODICAL PEACE CONFERENCES

By M. JAROUSSE DE SILLAC,

Permanent Secretary of the French Preparatory Commission for the Third Hague Conference.

“The law of nations is naturally based on the principle that the various nations ought to do as much good as possible to each other during peace, and as little harm as possible during war.”—MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix*, iii. 1.

WHEN, at the command of the Emperor of Russia, Count Muravieff convoked the first Peace Conference, by his circular of the 12/24th of August, 1898, scarcely any one foresaw the importance that the enterprise would one day have. It seemed at the time, in the eyes of the writer Mommsen, to be a typographical error in the history of the world.¹

In order to understand the future development of these Peace Conferences, which are now periodical, it is enough to examine the earlier state of things and the progress already made.

The object of the first Russian proposal was very restricted; it aimed only at bringing together a certain number of Powers for the purpose of studying the possibility of “limiting” armaments in order to lessen the financial burdens of States. But the exchange of views which preceded the holding of this “disarmament conference” having

¹ *Le Temps*, May 15, 1899.

shown that the chances of success were very slender, a second Muravieff circular (January 2, 1899) enlarged the original programme, adding to it, especially, "the possibility of preventing armed conflicts by pacific means," and the regulation of the "laws and customs of war."

These two new subjects changed the character of the gathering, and even the title of it was modified. From that point it was called "Peace Conference." Indeed the Conference, yielding to the pressure of things, soon converted the accessory into the principal, relegated to the second place the premature question of disarmament, and endeavoured to justify its title by concentrating its efforts on the "pacific settlement of international conflicts." Finally, the second Conference, which met in 1907, emphasised this tendency and gave a much broader development to the initial idea of the Tsar.

The work of the two Conferences has clearly given us for the future a plan of action that we may sum up in the following three points: Regulate war, maintain peace, and organise the society of civilised States.

We will examine the three points in succession, asking in each case *what has been done* by the first two Conferences, and *what remains to be done* by future Conferences.

I. THE REGULATION OF WAR.—*What has been done.*—The delegates to the Hague Conferences have been blamed for concerning themselves with war. They ought, on the contrary, to be praised, for nothing better shows their sense of realities.

Nations ought to have normal and pacific relations with each other. But these relations may be interrupted, and give way to violence. It is impossible to overlook this contingency. We must, on the contrary, foresee it, and lay down rules to restrict the evils that result from it.

The principles of the law of nations in this regard were distributed, either in special works, or in projects that had not been ratified, such as that of the Brussels Conference (1874).

The task of the Hague Conferences consisted in collecting, unifying, in a word, codifying them. It has assuredly not exhausted the question, but it has established a common law on a large number of important points.

The chief need was to define the relations of belligerents to each other, and let them know what they might, or might not, do. Hence the conventions elaborated at The Hague on the following subjects:—

Opening of hostilities.

Laws and customs of war on land.

Conduct of hostile merchant-ships.

Transformation of merchant-ships into war-ships.

Submarine mines.

Bombardment by naval forces.

Adaptation of the Geneva Convention to maritime war.

To take account of the exigencies of war in so far as they are unalterable and allow the attainment as quickly as possible of the aim of all war, the reduction of the enemy; but at the same time to introduce as much humanity

and loyalty as possible into the relations between the States engaged in conflict, and between the citizens of those States—that is the general idea which inspires the “war legislation” laid down by these conventions.

Another point to be considered was the situation in which neutrals were placed in time of war, and their rights and duties—a most important point in view of the modern conception of neutrality. In time of war neutral States are, as it were, spectators of the conflict, and for two reasons it is inadvisable that the war should spread to them; in the first place, they themselves escape the evils which come of it, and, in the second place, they maintain the security and authority that are necessary for them to obtain a hearing from the belligerents with a view to pacification. In order to allow them to assume this character, the ground had to be prepared by the framing of a legislation of neutrality. That is the tendency of the agreements on the following points:—

Rights and duties of neutral Powers and private persons in cases of war on land.

Rights and duties of neutral Powers in case of maritime war.

Declaration in relation to the law of maritime war (blockade, contraband, assisting the enemy, &c.).

The latter “declaration” was, it is true, elaborated by the Naval Conference held at London in 1909, but this may be regarded as a sequel to the Peace Conference, since its object was to facilitate the working of the Prize Court.

Lastly, the Conferences dealt with the provision of sanctions for the observance of the laws of warfare; they are as yet modest sanctions, but they nevertheless represent an entirely new path that had not hitherto been taken by conventional law. The most important is “the pecuniary indemnity” inflicted on the belligerent party that shall violate the convention on the laws of warfare (art. 3). There are others, however, such as the loss of the right of inviolability by any parliamentarians who shall be guilty of an act of treason (art. 34), the resumption of hostilities in case of the violation of an armistice (art. 40), the loss of the benefits of neutrality (art. 17 of the convention on neutrals), &c.

What remains to be done.—The work of the codification of the law in time of war has its programme marked out for the next Peace Conferences. It will continue to have two chief ends in view: (1) to humanise war as much as possible, without attempting to oppose the military application of inventions, which might prove to be a fruitless task; and (2) to define and strengthen more and more the position of neutrals, so as to preserve them from the contagion of hostilities and allow them to use their collective influence in an attempt to pacify the belligerents.

In these two respects the existing conventions will doubtless need improving and modifying. Other questions will be raised, most of which have already been profoundly studied by the Institute of International Law and the Interparliamentary Union. The following may be given as examples:—

Right of capture at sea (respect for private property).

Limitation of blockade to war-ports.

Neutrality of certain inter-oceanic straits and canals.

Effect of war on treaties and on private contracts.

Regulation of aerial navigation in time of war.

We have here a considerable amount of work to go on with, and the usefulness of it, as long as the possibility of war lasts, cannot be disputed.

II. THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE.—*What has been done.*—In this regard the first two Conferences have elaborated quite an international code under the name of “Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Conflicts” and

"Convention Concerning the Limitation of the Use of Force for the Recovery of Contracted Debts." There are, further, certain "declarations" inserted in the final act which prepare the way for improvements. Finally, the "Prize Court" has for its object the juridical control of a series of special conflicts.

The object of all these dispositions is the same: to secure for States the power to adjust their differences without recourse to arms.

"Mediation" is the first procedure that suggests itself. It is conducted by one or more Powers friendly to the conflicting parties, and the mediator, appointed by common agreement, has to "reconcile the opposing claims." The chief difference between this system and arbitration is that the findings of the mediator are in no sense binding upon the parties, and are not necessarily based on a definition of their rights.

Next to this diplomatic means we have the juridical ways of ending conflicts. In such litigation we must distinguish between questions of fact and questions of law. To elucidate the former "international commissions of inquiry" have been instituted. To settle the latter the rules of arbitration have been defined.

The commission of inquiry has merely to throw light on facts that are in dispute between two States, and make a report with the utmost impartiality. One indisputable result of this procedure is to put an end to public discussion of questions that inflame the national sentiments of the two peoples. The effect was very gratifying in connection with the Hull incident.

Then there is "arbitration," which has to control litigation between States by means of judges of their own choice and on a basis of respect for the right.

Two chief methods are used in fixing arbitration among the habits of nations: (1) The conclusion of treaties between two States stipulating that there shall be recourse to arbitration "in all cases that they think possible to submit to it." Thanks to the indications given in the text (art. 40) the number of arbitration treaties is now considerable (about 120). (2) The creation of a "Permanent Arbitration Court." This court is a kind of college of arbitrators, four being chosen from each State. A practical procedure makes it possible to appoint speedily three or five arbitrators from amongst them. These arbitrators meet, deliberate, and formulate their verdict in accordance with settled rules. The Hague Tribunal thus, in a celebrated phrase, makes arbitration "easy and honourable" for States. The latter seem to appreciate it, and use it more and more. (Examples: the Casablanca affair, 1909; the Anglo-American conflict in regard to the North-Atlantic Fisheries, 1910, the Savarkar affair, 1911, &c.)

In order that this Tribunal may be set to work as frequently as possible, it has been recognised that the Powers which are foreign to a dispute have a "duty" which obliges them to remind parties about to declare war "that the Permanent Court is open to them" (art. 48). This "advice" cannot be regarded as an unfriendly act. On the other hand, one of the Powers at variance may address to the Hague Bureau a note informing it that it is disposed to accept arbitration, and the Bureau must at once make this declaration known to the other Power. As the first American delegate recalled in 1907, the President of the United States has on several occasions discharged this "duty," and thus prevented a number of wars between South American States.

The "International Prize Court" also must be included among the means devised for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Finally, the convention in regard to "contractual debts" absolutely forbids the use of force to recover them. An exception is made when the adverse party has refused arbitration, or will not obey the verdict. It follows that differences of this nature must be submitted to arbitrators in all cases.

Hence this and disputes relative to maritime prizes form two subjects in regard to which all States accept the operation of an international jurisdiction.

What remains to be done.—Future Conferences must continue to codify international law: (1) by improving and increasing the means of maintaining peace; (2) by defining the principles not yet codified, on which are based the relations of States to each other. The points that may engage particular attention in both these regards are as follows:—

Sanctions.—It has often been observed that the engagements entered upon by States, and especially arbitration conventions, were devoid of sanctions. In point of fact, nevertheless, the sentences of arbitrators are always carried out. On the other hand, in recent times Governments have shown the greatest concern that they should not be regarded as the aggressors in the wars in which they have been engaged. These two results have a common origin: the fear of the verdict of public opinion, the desire to have the appearance of right on one side, and, consequently, the support of neutrals.

What is the meaning of all this? It is because neutral opinion tends to become a moral force that may with the greatest ease be converted into material assistance. We have here, then, in latent form, a moralising force which the Peace Conferences must develop and organise. In doing this, they will confine themselves to developing the idea contained in germ in article 48, which lays upon neutrals the duty of pacification, and upon the Hague Bureau the part of intermediary on the eve of conflicts.

In order to give solidity to neutral opinion and enable it to throw its whole weight on the side of the right, we must define what the right is. We may start from the evident principle that a State, when attacked by another, is in a position of legitimate defence. But the real aggressor is not always the one who first crosses the frontier. It is easy to provoke a declaration of war. We need, therefore, a criterion that will enable neutrals to distinguish the aggressor. Such a criterion exists. It is enough to define it in a text that is inspired by the following idea: the right is not to be judged by the claims advanced by a State or the military operations it conducts, but by the fact that the State has declared its readiness to have recourse to arbitration, while the opposite party has refused to have recourse to it or to submit to the sentence passed. *The refusal of arbitration* is the precise feature that will enable neutral opinion in nearly every case to range itself on one side.¹

When we have thus succeeded in forming neutral opinion on a juridical principle, it will be time to consider in what way it may make itself felt, when necessary. Probably its moral influence will suffice, as a rule.

Mediation.—This is a convenient and plastic procedure in certain cases, and one that, in the present circumstances, may help to adjust differences of a political and territorial character, which States would hesitate to submit to arbitration. This implement, indicated by the Paris Congress of 1856, and the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, and regulated by the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, might be materially improved. In the first place, it does not seem to be indispensable to have recourse to one or more other Powers; it has been observed that certain constituted bodies or private individuals would be just as capable of playing the part of mediator in conditions that exclude even more effectively any trace of national interest.

It has also been proposed to conclude treaties making it obligatory to have recourse to a mediator in certain cases, and to draw up articles of mediation corresponding to articles 40 and 48.

The more practical of these propositions could be inserted in title 11 of the

Convention on the Settlement of International Conflicts.¹ We should thus have ready at hand two solutions instead of one—mediation and arbitration, either of which might be used according to the nature of the dispute.

Arbitration.—The second Conference achieved results and work in this respect that indicate the path to be followed. The possibility of submitting certain categories of differences to obligatory arbitration without reserve has been recognised by the whole of the States. Six of these categories have been admitted by thirty-two States, and two other categories are now recognised by all civilised States; they are the questions of contractual debt and maritime prizes. What has been admitted for these two cases can easily be admitted for a larger number. As to other differences, in regard to which we have still to take account of the habitual reserves of national honour, vital interests, &c., it is logical to regard, not merely "juridical differences," but every kind of conflict, since States always have the right to refrain from arbitration on the ground of "reserves." The meaning and interpretation of these reserves might be defined as in the Italo-Belgian Treaty of November 18, 1910.² In this way we should restrict the optional character in this clause that was criticised in the discussions of 1907.

Lastly, we might eliminate such of these reserves as do not seem to correspond to realities, and are due to vague phraseology. It is desirable that a chain of arbitration treaties, on the bases already admitted, should link together all the civilised States that meet in the third Conference.

But nothing should prevent such of them as wish to go further from taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the meetings to bind themselves by a more extensive treaty, and thus constitute a restricted union of obligatory arbitration.

Arbitration Court and Court of International Justice.—This question will be treated later (see Part III, "Organisation of the Society of States").

International Duty.³—In continuation of the effort of the first two Conferences, it would be well to seek some practical means of enabling Powers to discharge this duty.

There are two difficulties in the way of discharging it:—

1. Although, according to the texts, "the advice to have recourse to the Permanent Court" must be regarded as a "friendly" act, a Power always hesitates to be the first to break the silence observed by the others, and interfere officially in the dispute between two other States. It is therefore necessary to find some procedure that will make the steps collective, instead of isolated; it would thus have more weight, and the responsibility would be divided. In order to realise this, could not one of the permanent organs of the Hague institutions ("Administrative Council", or "Arbitration Bureau") be charged with gathering, on the eve of the conflict, the opinion of the Powers as to the opportuneness of discharging the "duty" defined in article 48, and transmitting to the two conflicting parties the replies of the States that desire to fulfil their duty?

2. The other difficulty is: at what precise moment does a dispute become dangerous, and when is there occasion to gather the opinion of neutral Powers? In this respect full discretion might be left to the international organ, and, that

¹ See N. Politis, "L'Avenir de la Médiation," *Revue de Droit International Public*, 1910, p. 136.

² "Declaration" annexed to the "obligatory arbitration treaty" concluded on November 18, 1910, between Belgium and Italy.

³ See article 48 of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Conflicts.

no time may be lost, it should be allowed to correspond *directly* and telegraphically with each of the interested States.

Limitation of Armaments.—As is known, the first two Conferences have not attained this object. They confined themselves to expressions of desire, but the execution seems to be impeded by considerable difficulties. The insecurity that still exists in the world, and the absence of adequate sanctions in favour of juridical solutions, make any diminution of the armament of a State seem to be a menace to its existence. Each wants to overtake its neighbour, and the progress of inventions causes an incessant rivalry. Nevertheless, the loss of productive labour and money is so evident that the excessive armaments will, no doubt, engender a feeling of weariness even in the richest States. Then it will be time to think of "limitation," but at the same—or, rather, before then—we shall have to secure, in a more binding way, the juridical settlement of disputes. We may further observe that "limitation of armaments" is not synonymous with "disarmament," and does not at all preclude the possibility of war.

Codification of Other Principles of International Law.—It goes without saying that the various devices which we have reviewed belong to the codification of international law, and indeed form the most important part of it, since they aim at the direct maintenance of peace. But in order to attain this result more securely it is further necessary to define the principles on which the normal relations of nations are based. It has been written (art. 37) that the arbitrators might give their decision "on the basis of respect for the right." But what is this right? The Powers have wholly failed to tell us. We must therefore convert into conventional law those parts of law which have not yet been codified. That will be a long and difficult task. Among questions that might be first approached we may quote the following :—

- Responsibility of States ;
- Regulation of diplomatic and consular immunities ;
- International routes of communication ;
- Executive measures in regard to foreign States ;

III. THE ORGANISATION OF THE SOCIETY OF STATES.—The word "society" has many different meanings (commercial, philanthropic, scientific societies, &c.), but it may be said, in its widest application, to mean any assemblage of individuals or groups of individuals with common rules in view of the preservation of their common interests.

There is, therefore, such a thing as a society of civilised States. On many points these States have similar interests, and the number of these increases every day with the means of communication, exchange, and progress of all kinds. This interdependence and community of interests have been affirmed by Congresses which dealt with European and world-wide questions, such as those of Vienna (1815), Paris (1856), and Berlin (1878). The creation of the offices of universal Unions has given tangible form to these interests, and given them a purely international expression.

But it fell to the two Peace Conferences really to organise the society of States by bestowing on it the first elements of a political society. Mere germs as yet, these elements may, as they develop, constitute a legislative, a judiciary, and an administrative organisation, the whole being co-ordinated by a "declaration of principles," of which the bases have already been laid down.

As we review these creations, scattered over the various texts of the Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907, we see the actual formation of this society of States, with the sole object of safeguarding common interests, while respecting the complete sovereignty and the actual prerogatives of its members. These are the principal elements of it :—

Declaration of Principles.—It is contained in the preamble of the Convention

for the pacific settlement of international conflicts, and defines, with rare felicity of phrase, the fundamental interests of States, the end toward which they tend, and the law that ought to control their relations.¹

In this preamble the great interests to safeguard are "the maintenance of general peace" and the bonds of "international solidarity." Peace and solidarity : these two explain the power that impels modern nations to form a group and legislate in common.

The end to aim at is "the security of States and the welfare of peoples."

Finally, the means of preserving these interests and attaining this end are "to extend the empire of law," to "strengthen the feeling of universal justice," and to "consecrate the principles of equity and law."

Just as there is a Declaration of the Rights of Man, so there is now a Declaration of the Rights of States in regard to each other, and it marks no less important a date in the history of the world.

We must now see what application has been made of these principles in 1899 and 1907.

Elements of an International Legislative Organisation.—The "Peace Conference" has henceforth all the characters of an assembly charged with the duty of elaborating, subject to the ratification of each Government, laws that apply to the whole of civilised States (twenty-six States in 1899, forty-four in 1907).

Each State is represented by several delegates (diplomats, jurists, technical experts, &c.), who are appointed by the national executive power, so that the representation is diplomatic.

As to the aim of the Conference, it presents certain analogies with that of a Parliament ; its task is to legislate on general subjects connected with points of law, and to elaborate international law, just as Parliaments elaborate national law. But there is a difference in the fact that the resolutions of the Conference are formed *ad referendum*, or subject to the approval of the States. Another analogy with the parliamentary method is that commissions and subcommissions are set up for the study of each question. A president, reporter, and secretary are generally appointed for each, and the conclusions are presented in a report to the full assembly.

The consequences of the vote, however, are very different from those of a parliamentary vote. Each State has only one voice, and the majority does not give the law to the minority. A declaration is not adopted unless it is unanimously admitted. In point of fact, however, when there are very few States opposed to a proposal or an article, they are content to "make reserves" on the point they do not accept, without opposing the conversion, "almost unanimously," of the text voted into international law.²

¹ Preamble of the Convention :—

The Sovereigns and heads of States represented "animated with a strong desire to assist in the maintenance of general peace ;

"Resolved to promote with all their efforts the friendly settlement of international conflicts ; recognising the solidarity that unites the members of the society of civilised nations ;

"Desiring to extend the empire of law, and strengthen the sentiment of international justice ; convinced that the permanent institution of an arbitral jurisdiction, accessible to all, in the midst of the independent Powers, can effectually contribute to this result ;

"Considering the advantages of a general and regular organisation of arbitral procedure ; believing with the august initiator of the international Peace Conference that it is important to consecrate by international agreement the principles of equity and law on which security of States and welfare of peoples are based," &c.

² As happened in regard to the "Convention relative to the Prize Court," which was adopted by only thirty-three States, yet inserted in the Hague Acts.

What gives these meetings a special character, in harmony with the general idea of a legislative assembly, is their periodicity and the fact that they are convoked by the collective will, and not by that of a single governing head. In this way the third Peace Conference will be convoked, about seven years after the second, and there is every reason to believe that the principle of periodicity will be definitely recognised.

Once the periodicity is settled, what else is there to be done in order to give these international gatherings the utmost possible influence and authority?

The most urgent need is to frame a "regulation" enabling the delegates to conduct their deliberations methodically. The difficulty in regard to the consequences of the vote, in particular, ought to be settled. In what way can a text be incorporated in international law with the authority that belongs to all the deliberations of the Peace Conferences? That is the fundamental difficulty, and it is a delicate one to remove. A good deal was said, during the Conference of 1907, about the need of obtaining "quasi-unanimity." That is a vague expression, and should be abandoned. It would be simpler to admit that the texts voted by a sufficient number of States (say, three-fourths) might be inscribed in the Proceedings of the Conference, and remain open for the adhesion of the other States. A similar method was adopted, as a matter of fact, for several of the conventions voted in 1907 (especially that relating to the Prize Court), and seemed to cause no inconvenience to any State, since each was free to denounce the conventions or refuse to adhere to them. But to make the methods applicable in all cases would it not be to suppress the right of veto which a very small number of Powers might use in order to prevent the great majority of the others from agreeing upon the proposal they wish to realise?

The question of periodicity also should be settled in such a way that the Conferences may take place at a fixed date, without any need of governmental initiative or any negotiations to convoke them.

Elements of Judiciary Organisation.—We find them at present in the following form :—

- (1) Permanent Arbitration Court ;
- (2) Prize Court ;
- (3) Plan of a Court of Justice.

The first of these institutions has already proved its value ; its optional character and the liberty it leaves the parties to choose the judges have been the causes of its success. In a word, it was adapted to the conditions of the period in which it was created, and it may be said that it has already played a great part ; it has familiarised States with the practice of arbitration. These results prove incidentally that it is better not to outrun the general advance of ideas, and to build up with the co-operation of all, even if the edifice falls short of perfection on that account. The optional Arbitration Court deserves to be maintained such as it is, therefore. For the time being it represents a real usefulness, and has given proof to States of its convenience and its lofty impartiality.

The Prize Court has quite a different character. In this case the judges are chosen in advance ; they are permanent, and they receive a salary as long as the sessions last. Moreover, the Powers undertake to accept the verdict of the Court whenever a dispute arises concerning maritime prizes.

Its jurisdiction is, therefore, obligatory.

The Conference wished to go a step further and create a "Court of Justice" with permanent judges. The proposal was elaborated, voted, and annexed to the final act of 1907. But it has not yet been carried out, on account of a defect in the system of nominating the judges.

On this point, therefore, we have still to find a solution. At the same time more unity and harmony might be introduced into the judiciary power of the

Conferences. Is the name "Court of *Arbital* Justice" quite in harmony with the reality? The word "arbitral" implies that the judges are chosen on the occurrence of a certain dispute, and that their powers expire afterwards. As, however, in this case it is a question of permanent judges, would it not be better to call it a "Court of International Justice"?

In principle this Court ought to be optional, and only recommend itself to the use of States by the convenience it offers them. In certain disputes, however, would it not be better to have it acting as an obligatory jurisdiction? It would seem that the restricted subjects that give occasion for obligatory arbitration would find judges already marked out in this Court; would it not, therefore, be advisable for the States to come to an understanding to bring certain disputes before it on account of its exceptional competence and its permanence?

Lastly, just as a special Court has been created to deal with questions of maritime prizes, we may hope to see special Chambers to deal with certain other subjects which require a particular competence in the judges. In this way we should have a judiciary organisation properly adapted to the various contingencies of conflict, with a unity that may be shown in the following table:—

- I. Arbitration Court (optional).
- II. Court of Justice (obligatory in certain cases, optional in the rest).
 - Chambers: (1) of private international law;
 - (2) of administrative disputes (matters of universal Unions);
 - (3) of tariff questions;
 - (4) of maritime prizes, &c.

Elements of an Administrative Power.—Up to the present the Powers have expressed no desire to create, outside each of them, a permanent power representing the international collectivity, and capable of arriving at decisions in the general interest. It goes without saying that no such power yet exists, and the difficulties of a political character that might oppose the creation of it are such that we cannot even think of discussing them here.

But there are already international administrations charged with the execution of certain decisions or with certain services of interest to all States collectively. We may be permitted to see in them the germ of a real international authority, which the future will develop.

There are, in the first place, the "offices" of the Unions which are organs with functions of an administrative character applying to the international community. (For instance, the offices for the following matters: literary copy-right, industrial ownership, weights and measures, geodesy, postal union, railways, sanitary questions, agriculture, &c.) There are also international organs to which certain States have delegated a partial executive power, such as the Danube Commission, or a full right of decision, such as the Commission of the Sugar Union.

Moreover, the Peace Conferences have created other elements of international administration. They are:—

The Administrative Council;

The Arbitration Bureau: (1) The official name of this Bureau is, in accordance with the 1907 Convention: "International Bureau of the Permanent Arbitration Court"; and

The Preparatory Committee.

The first, composed of representatives of the States at The Hague, has the task of administration and control in matters affecting international justice (Arbitration Court, Prize Court, and, eventually, Court of Justice). It is this bureau, in particular, that controls the expenditure, and divides it among the States.

The Arbitration Bureau has several duties. It serves as a registry to the Court which it has to convoke, when the occasion arises. It forms the archives, and must keep in them all the official documents relating to arbitration (sentences, treaties, &c.). Lastly, and especially, it has, in case of a conflict between two Powers, to transmit to the interested party "the note containing the declaration" that the other party "would be disposed to submit the dispute to arbitration." Modest as this character of intermediary is, it has a certain importance from the fact that it is exercised in the name of all the other States.

As to the "Preparatory International Committee," its duty is, according to the final Act of 1907, to draw up the programme, and to settle the form of organisation and procedure, of the next Conference. The Committee is therefore invested with two functions: the preparation of international laws, and the organisation of the periodical meeting at the Hague.

Thus, at the present time we have a sort of fragmentary distribution of the international authority among four kinds of elements. There seems to be an obvious need of co-ordination between these administrative institutions, which are now scattered and disunited.

In what form could this co-ordination be effected? Would it be well, for instance, to set up an International Committee, of which the first function would be to watch over the maintenance of the Society of States and secure respect for the principles on which it is based? Should the Committee for this purpose fuse together certain functions of the Administrative Council, the Preparatory Council, and the Hague Bureau, establishing at the same time a connection between the offices of the Unions?

The third Peace Conference will have to settle these questions, and find the best means of securing unity of direction in all that concerns the common interests of States. That may be one of the most interesting tasks of future Conferences.

It goes without saying that the future will have to decide whether it is advisable to seek means of enforcing respect for international laws. It is useless now to look so far ahead. It is enough for the present to affirm that force should be placed more and more at the service of the law of nations. We have only to glance at the actual evolution to see where it is leading us. By a distinctly modern procedure the nations have in several cases formed international forces: the Chinese expedition, the occupation of Crete, the policing of Macedonia, &c. The formula has been found. When the opinion of neutrals becomes conscious of itself, when it is accustomed to define itself with perfect clearness on the eve of a conflict, the moral force that results from it will be only a prelude to the material force that is at its command.

The periodical Peace Conferences will thus see their activity extend in the direction of an organisation of the Society of States.

[Paper submitted in French.]

EIGHTH SESSION

POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR PROMOTING INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS (continued)

THE PRESS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE

By ALFRED H. FRIED, *Vienna.*

NEW ideas need publicity in the struggle for their realisation. In earlier times the number of those who were concerned about public affairs was much smaller than it now is. Publicity was, therefore, easier to attain. The propaganda of new ideas went from mouth to mouth, and was effected in meetings and by means of books. Great revolutions were brought about in this way. To-day it is otherwise. Interest in the development of things has permeated nearly every stratum of the population in civilised countries. There are now few who stand aside indifferently. The spoken word, oral propaganda, and the printed book, are now far from adequate to attain this very extensive publicity. The instrument we must use for this purpose is the Press. It is the Press that influences public opinion; but it is also the Press that puts the greatest obstacles in the way of new ideas.

Men of different countries and zones generally know each other to-day by means of the Press. Only the very few have occasion, in spite of the enormous development of commerce, to make the acquaintance of foreign peoples and lands by personal observation. Whatever they hear of them they hear from the daily papers. In this way the Press has become the most important medium of communication. It forms views and judgments which spread with extraordinary speed over the whole earth. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of our planet hear and see through the Press what is occurring in various parts of the world.

But the extreme importance of the Press has no fitting recognition in the way in which it is organised to-day. As a rule, the newspaper

is a business concern, like any other commercial enterprise. It serves either the material interest of the publisher or the interest of somebody that uses it for influencing the masses. This interest colours all its news and comments. Only what is to the interest of the controllers of the paper finds its way into the Press. Anything else is suppressed or—what is worse—misinterpreted. Hence the views of most men are to a great extent influenced by the interest of the few who run the paper as a commercial concern.

Certainly there is in civilised countries a Press that is conscious of its civilising mission, and does not need to flatter the moods of the masses or pander to their lower interests. These organs, however, are not yet as numerous as they ought to be in the interest of civilisation. Moreover, their influence on the masses is limited by the preponderance of organs that make a speculation of the lower tendencies of the general masses. The bulk of the people demand sensation. The journals, therefore, which pander to this demand will have the largest editions and make the most profit.

Hence it is that the far greater part of the Press in all countries, and especially those journals that appeal to the largest number of people, and are hungrily swallowed by millions of readers, take no interest in promoting civilisation and the peaceful development of peoples and races. Their only interest is to oust their rivals in providing the greatest possible sensations, and so secure the largest editions.

The consequences of this are most mischievous. In the first place, millions of readers learn nothing of the great activity of civilisation in our time; for this action is not sensational, but slow and silent. Secondly, they learn all the more of uncivilised activity—of crimes, violence, and unrest. They are led to form the erroneous opinion that the world is full of crime and is simply kept under control by force. Thirdly, the great haste with which news is published, in view of rival papers, leads to a good deal of inaccuracy, and the reader has a very bad account of the real events. Fourthly, the announcements very frequently do not correspond to facts. They are inventions. But when they have once been put in circulation by the Press, they persist obstinately in the minds of the readers, and things that never happened at all are regarded as realities.

The most mischievous effect of journals of this kind is in running counter to the peaceful development of nations and races. Peace and the normal tenor of international life are not interesting as a rule. Peaceful events have no element of sensation. Hence the Press that needs sensation as a condition of its existence has no interest in serving the cause of peace. It has all the more interest in inflaming

peoples against each other. The mere danger of a bloody encounter, a war, or a revolution, attracts curiosity and ensures millions of readers. Any occurrence, therefore, that has an anarchic character, and is calculated to engender hatred and agitation, is described at the greatest length. The slightest embittered utterance is telegraphed. The most trivial detail that suggests the possibility of an international conflict is exaggerated and drawn out until the reader fancies that there is immediate danger of an armed conflict. These journals do nothing to allay public feeling and promote a better understanding when there is a conflict. Their interest is to fan the excitement and inflame the people. The worse the international agitation the more business will they do.

Although no war has taken place in Europe for forty years, and the majority of its inhabitants are, like the majority of civilised people everywhere, opposed to war, this section of the Press has, nevertheless, announced that war was about to break out at least two or three times every year. The failure of their prophecies does not seem to injure them. The general masses whom they reach have short memories ; they see and hear only the events of the day. They have already forgotten the events of the previous week. But while they have poor memories, they have very acute feelings. The hatred that is preached and instilled into them from one end of the year to the other takes deep root in their subconsciousness, and to-day the majority of the inhabitants of any country regard the inhabitants of other countries as wicked and criminal, and worthy only of their contempt.

In this way all the views of a generation are poisoned. The Press to which I have referred is a poisoner of civilisation. The man who kills by poisoning is not only he who pours out the poison that may kill a man, but also he who prevents an antidote from *being administered in time*. That is the tendency of the sensational Press. They prevent the general masses from obtaining the information that would pacify them, and give them a more correct view of the life and activity of neighbouring nations.

This demand for sensation and the satisfaction of the demand by inflaming the masses are responsible for the frame of mind which now maintains the illusion of armed peace—an illusion that keeps alive the possibility of a warlike conflict.

In this we have a very grave menace to civilisation. All the achievements of our civilisation are without effect as long as it is possible for a certain commercial Press to poison the mass of the people in all countries. The most brilliant discoveries, which might raise humanity to a supreme height, lose their significance as long as there is a Press that can bring minds down to the level of the man of the lake-villages or the prehistoric cave.

If we wish to promote the good understanding of races and nations, to serve the interests of civilisation, and especially to derive the utmost profit from our technical advances, we must first cut out this cancer from the body of the nations and put an end to the sensational Press.

We have to struggle against the brood of a more fearful dragon than the fabulous beasts of antiquity, which the early heroes have been inscribed in the book of history for destroying.

The task is not easy, but that must not prevent us from undertaking it. All the great deeds of civilisation have been difficult. In every country we see the pioneers of civilisation at work solving much more difficult problems. Why should not this greatest of all the evils that afflict civilisation yield to the united effort of all right-minded men?

The simplest means is, naturally, to cut the ground from under this pernicious section of the Press—in other words, to make the masses, by a spread of education, immune against the poison that threatens them. But this is also the slowest means, and needs many generations for its accomplishment. Assuredly, we must not lose sight of it. But we must associate it with another method, which promises a more speedy success. This is to support the respectable Press in its struggle for life, to win the public gradually over to it, to make it so much appreciated that people will at length be in a position to distinguish between the sensational and the civilised Press.

Two years ago I put forward the proposal to establish an "International Union of the Peace Press," which would have the aim of making the Press gradually helpful to the cause of peace and mutual understanding.

My chief idea was that there are already in various countries a fairly large number of persons and journals which do their best to promote this mutual understanding.

These elements, already numerous, but scattered, must first be united, and formed into an organisation which will have the name of the "International Union of the Peace Press." The pacific writers who already exist in various countries will thus be organised.

The establishment of such a Union will be a great advantage in itself. *It will have an influence by the very fact that it exists.* It will show that there is a body of men, scattered over the world, who are working through the Press for peace. It will bring to general knowledge *the contrast of the respectable and the mischievous Press*, and so have a greater influence on the public than the isolated writers would have.

Such an organisation, which could easily be established, will—

(1) Become a centre of crystallisation, gradually attracting the best elements out of the Press on the other side.

(2) At once make its influence felt on the Press, raising its tone, and so become immediately an important factor in the attainment of peace.¹

It cannot be denied that such an undertaking is feasible. If it looks like a conflict of a dwarf with a giant, we must not allow this superficial impression to dismay us. Very large and useful institutions have begun on a very small scale, yet they have attained their end in virtue of the integrity and wholesomeness of their principles. Nor is it quite correct in this case to speak of a combat of dwarf and giant. The struggle to win the Press for peace is a spiritual, not a material, struggle, and therefore we must take account of the weight of the idea. Further, we must not overlook the sympathetic disposition we may rely on finding, in Governments as well as peoples. We may see that Governments often use the Press as a trumpet, and, directly, or indirectly, foster the cry of war; but we must not forget that the warlike and inflammatory attitude of a section of the Press is often very much disliked by statesmen, who are more and more disposed publicly to condemn such tactics. It is true that all statesmen are not sufficiently honourable to cry, with Winston Churchill: "God preserve us from our patriotic Press!" or, like the late English Minister of Public Works, Harcourt, to stigmatise a certain class of publicists as "the pickpockets of politics and enemies of the human race." Nevertheless, in every country the cases are increasing in which the leaders of foreign politics complain of the Press that hampers their work. In the year 1894 the Austro-Hungarian minister Count Kálnocky recommended the peace societies to pay attention to the daily Press and its announcements. Only lately Count Aehrenthal complained of "the irresponsibles of the Press who hamper our efforts to come to an understanding with Italy"; and, at the same time Tittoni described "the exaggerations and criminal provocation" in the Press as "the main, if not the only, menace to the peace of Europe."

And the peoples? Most of the journalists who write on the bellicose side do so under the impression that they are consulting the taste of the public. They do not know how seriously mistaken they are; how much their bellicose spirit disgusts the thoughtful public. And it is only the thoughtful public with whom they have to reckon. The greater part of those who form no ideas of their own on international politics are not a hindrance to the cause of peace. It has, in the general public of the civilised world, a larger following than its opponents, or even than some of us, imagine. The ideas and the

¹ For further details address the author at 7, Wiederhofergasse, Vienna, Austria.

activity of a Peace Press are welcomed by a large body of the people. It is inconceivable that the idea and the work of the Union should not have the support of all right-minded, active, and earnest men. The circumstances are, therefore, very favourable for the founding of the Union. The times are ripe. What we have to do must be done. It can no longer be deferred. The imperative need and the favourable circumstances give us every hope of success.

May the great Races Congress, which is itself a sign of the awakening of the feeling of solidarity in the world, not hesitate to give its support to this plan. It will thus further the realisation of the idea, and so contribute to removing the greatest obstacle to the advance of civilisation, in removing the poisoners of humanity.

[Paper submitted in German.]

INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

By Dr. L. L. ZAMENHOF, *Warsaw (Poland)*,

Originator of the International Language "Esperanto."

ALTHOUGH our Congress bears the title of "Races Congress," I trust you will allow me to speak in this paper of peoples as well as of races. Both words indicate ethnological groups of human beings; they differ only in the wideness of their range. We find the same relations, though possibly on a comparatively larger scale, between peoples as between races, and it is very frequently difficult to say if a particular group of men represents a race or a people.

The conflicts that we find between the various races and peoples are the greatest evil that afflicts humanity. If this Races Congress can discover some means of extinguishing, or at least of lessening, these mutual hatreds and conflicts of peoples, it will rank as one of the most important Congresses that has ever been held.

To accomplish this, however, the Congress must not be content with theoretical expressions which pass, like the wind, and leave no trace. It must not seek futile compromises, which repair one rent by opening another. It must insist on discovering the *cause* of the evil, and seek some remedy that will remove, or at least moderate, it.

What, then, is the chief, if not the only, cause of this hatred which sets one people against another? Should we seek it in the *political conditions*, the rivalry that there is between those various groups of human beings to which we give the name of kingdoms? Certainly not; since it is clear that a German belonging to the German Empire, for instance, has no natural sentiment or hatred for a

German of Austria. Germans who have been born and are living under the diverse governments are linked in a mutual sympathy, while Germans and Slavs, born and living under the same government, regard each other as foreigners, and, if they have not a feeling of humanity stronger than the self-consciousness of their particular group, they hate and combat each other. It is not, therefore, the difference of governments which creates different peoples, and engenders hatred between them.

Is it *economic rivalry* that inspires this hatred? Once more, certainly not. We do indeed often hear a cry of alarm in this connection. We find a people exclaiming that they are about to be devoured and absorbed economically by some other people, and declaring that they must hate, oppress, or fight it. But any man who is not blinded by Chauvinism can see at once that these cries have no meaning; that we do not hate foreign peoples because they are in danger of absorbing us, from the economic point of view, but we raise the cry of absorption because we hate them. If, in point of fact, an economic danger were a source of mutual hatred, men would be forced to hate and fight each other in every country, every province, and every town.

Can we say, for instance, that so many millions of poor Russians hate the millions of poor Chinese on economic grounds, when they shed their blood so willingly to defend their Russian oppressors against the attacks of foreigners? Assuredly not, for the Russian soldier knows very well, when he kills a Chinese soldier, that the man would never do him as much harm as the "mailed fist" of his own compatriots. It is not economic causes that give rise to national hatreds.

Is it due to the *distance* between the two groups—the dissimilarity of *climate* and other geographical conditions—which might give rise to mutual aversion or antipathy? Certainly not. Remoteness from each other and difference in local or climatic conditions evidently produce certain variations in external appearance and in the character of men, but they do not create peoples, and do not impel them to hate each other.

The differences brought about by geographical and local conditions between the inhabitants of St. Petersburg and those of Odessa, or between the inhabitants of Kiev and those of Krasnojarska, are incomparably greater than the differences we find, for instance, between the inhabitants of Berlin and those of Warsaw; yet the former are united by a sentiment of nationality and fraternity, while the latter are divided by a feeling of deep aversion and most fanatical national hatred. It is not, therefore, the dissimilarity of geographical and climatic conditions that creates national hatred.

May we seek it in the circumstance that the various races and peoples differ from each other in their *bodily features*? Certainly not. Within the limits of any single people we find men of entirely different skin-colours, and with the greatest possible differences in stature and in the character of the various parts of the body. It often happens that two men who belong to the same people differ from each other more than two men of separate nationality, as we see, for instance, in the medium type of the Japanese and the French. But no one would think of separating the individuals of the same people into distinct groups according to their physical characters, and of supposing that these groups ought to detest and fight each other. In regard to the majority of foreign peoples no one will doubt that the physical differences which distinguish them from us are a matter of complete indifference to us. As a general rule, we cannot detect them; sometimes, even, they give us pleasure, in virtue of the natural law, of which we are frequently unconscious, that seeks the physiological advantages of the crossing of races.

There is only one race to which many of us seem to have a natural antipathy—the black race. But careful reflection soon shows us that our antipathy comes from a totally different source.

The negroes, with whom we white races have contrived to have so much trouble, were savages at no very distant date, and then slaves; and the greater part of them still retain the characteristic features or traces of their long period of barbarism and slavery. That has the instinctive effect of causing us, as free men and long established in civilisation, to regard them with aversion. The feelings of the white man toward the black, which seem to us to arise from some racial antipathy, are really just the same as the feelings with which a born aristocrat contemplates a peasant, whose lack of intelligence and of refined manners is disagreeable to him. When, in the course of time, the negroes have lost all traces of their former barbarism and slavery, when they have attained a high degree of culture and given to the world a number of great men, this unconscious disdain and antipathy will be turned into respect, and we shall no longer feel the slightest aversion for the black skin and the thick lips of the negro.

Each one of us can find, within his own nation, plenty of people whose frames are less agreeable than those of men of other races. When that is the case, we may avoid them; but do we hate and persecute them because we do not like their physical characteristics? Certainly not. We must, therefore, say that it is not these physical differences which cause nations to hate each other.

Is the hatred due to difference in *mental endowment*? We cannot admit it. The brains and bodies of the members of all

racés are equal, according to the nature of each, and the variations in mental power which we observe are not characteristic of the nations, but peculiar to individuals, or depend upon the conditions in which the individuals, or the entire people, live. If we find an immense difference between the mind of some race in the interior of Africa and that of a European race, we must seek the cause, not in any difference of national qualities, but in the diversity of civilisation and political conditions. Give the Africans, without any mingling of rancour or oppression, a high and humane civilisation, and you will find that their mental level will not differ from ours. Abolish the whole of our civilisation, and our mind will sink to the level of that of an African cannibal. It is not a difference of mentality in the race, but a difference of *instruction*; the same difference that we find, to a greater or less extent, between the various classes of one and the same race or the different periods of its history.

That the varying degrees of mental endowment do not constitute a national peculiarity is shown, not only by the fact that the individual members of any European nation, with the same education, have the same mental level, but is still more clearly demonstrated by comparing, for example, the Egyptians of the ancient civilisation or the Japanese of modern times with the civilised inhabitants of Europe. The three belong, not merely to different peoples, but to wholly different races and continents; yet if we leave out of account the conditions of time, place and religion, do we not find just the same mentality in these Africans, Asiatics, and Europeans? Is not the mind of a Japanese scholar, though he is of an entirely different race, the same as the mind of a European scholar, although, scarcely fifty years ago, there seemed to be a vast difference between the Japanese and the Europeans?

If a certain group of human beings presents, or seems to present, a different character from that of some other group, it is not due to some peculiarity of the national mind, but simply to the special conditions in which the group lives. A community brought up in slavery cannot have the courageous and free demeanour of a community that has been brought up in the enjoyment of liberty. A group that has had no opportunity of obtaining education cannot have the wide spiritual horizon that distinguishes a well-educated group. A group that is prevented from enjoying any other fruits of its labour than those which commerce affords it, cannot have the same character as a group that lives in daily contact with the soil and with nature. Change the conditions of the life of the group, and, as we have often seen in history, group A will to-morrow assume the character of group B, and group B will take on the features of

group A. No, it is certainly not innate differences in mental endowment that create races, and inspire them with hatred for each other.

May it not be the difference of *origin*? At first sight, it is true, we seem to have here the chief cause of national hatreds. We know that each of us loves the men of his "own blood"—loves his brother, or any member of his family, better than a "stranger." The division of men into families, with the attraction toward each other and the aversion for non-members of the group to which it leads, is a prototype of the mutual relations of peoples and races, and, when one seeks to explain the origin of the mutual hatred of peoples, one may say that these peoples are merely families in a larger development. Nevertheless, although the members of the same people may speak of themselves as "of the same blood," it is very easy to show that the analogy between families and nations, and the influence of origin on international relations, are only apparent. It is not the difference of origin that creates peoples and provokes their mutual animosity. That is a mere pretext, not a real cause.

What, then is the true cause of the dissensions and hatreds which inflame peoples against each other? From what I have already said you will begin to see that, in spite of all the pseudo-scientific theories which are based on differences of race or climate, community of blood, &c., the walls that really separate peoples, the true cause of all their mutual hatreds, must be sought merely in diversities of language and religion.

Language, especially, is a preponderant, if not the sole, element in the composition of the difference between peoples. This is so true that in some languages the words "tongue" and "people" are synonyms. If two men speak the same language, assuming that one does not use it for the purpose of humiliating the other, but that they use it with equal right; if, in virtue of their common tongue, they not only understand each other, but have the same literature (oral or written), the same education, the same ideal, the same sentiment of human dignity, and the same rights; if, in addition they have the same "God," the same festivals, the same morality, the same traditions, and the same customs, they feel that they are brothers, that they belong to the same people. If two men do not understand each other, they regard each other as foreigners, if not as mutes or barbarians, and instinctively avoid and distrust each other; just as we instinctively distrust whatever seems to us to hide in the darkness.

It is true that many of us can understand the speech of foreigners. That is the reason why we find the walls which divide peoples thinner in the educated classes. It is true that many of us recognise, and appreciate at their true value, the essence of foreign religions.

That is why right-thinking men never entertain an animosity toward foreigners and their different religion. But if the good understanding of two men is really to unite them, it is necessary for them to feel that they have an *equal right* to the language that they speak. If religion is not to raise a wall between two men, it is necessary, not only that they be tolerant in regard to the principles of their intimate belief—a belief which, for intelligent men, is an individual matter, and does not depend on nationality—but that they be not separated from each other by any difference in external religious ceremonies.

All that I have said justifies us in formulating this principle: *The diversity of peoples and the hatred of each other which they betray will not wholly disappear from the face of the earth until humanity has but one language and one religion.* Then in truth will the whole of humanity form one single people. Then there may, indeed, still be the various kinds of discord which are now found within the confines of every country and every people, such as political and economic discords, or those of conflicting parties or classes, and so on, but the most formidable of all discords, the mutual hatred of *peoples*, will have entirely disappeared.

As a matter of principle, therefore, every friend of humanity should seek to bring about this supreme unity of language and religion. But is this absolutely necessary in practice? It is assuredly not. What we have to deplore is, not the *existence* of peoples, but that ambition to dominate each other for which we have not yet found a remedy.

Whenever we seek to enter into relations with a man belonging to another nation we find it necessary, at the present time, either to impose our language and our customs on him, or to suffer that his be imposed on us. When this deplorable itching for domination has disappeared, the mutual hatred of peoples will be extinguished. To establish peace within a country it is not necessary that all its families be dissolved, with their peculiar habits and their domestic traditions. It is necessary only that they be not compelled to impose their special habits on other families, and that there shall be laws and customs set up on neutral territory to regulate all issues that *reach beyond the family*. So, to ensure peace for the whole human race, it is not necessary that the distinctive peoples shall disappear. We need only find such a *modus vivendi* as will enable them to extinguish their unfortunate external animosities and to avoid imposing their national peculiarities upon each other.

It is necessary that humanity so order its life that, *while preserving their national language and religion in the internal life of their linguistic or religious groups, men shall, in their relations with other*

peoples, use a language that is neutral to all men, and live according to the rules of a moral code which dictates actions and customs that are similarly neutral.

How this end is to be obtained in regard to religion I shall not attempt to show here, because—

1. It is not the subject of this paper, and would compel me to enter upon long and special preliminary observations.

2. Religion is not *essentially* a national question, but depends on the will of man, and represents a part of human civilisation. The religious union of peoples began spontaneously long ago in some measure, and the completion of the work is only prevented by quite incidental and temporary circumstances. When, on the one hand, the privileged position of any particular religion has been abandoned in any country, and, as a result of this, the individual may change the religion of his birth without betraying his unfortunate co-religionists; and when, on the other hand, a religion has been found, the dogmas of which every man may adopt without doing violence to his conscience, the whole human race will very speedily regulate its religious life in the same way.

Moreover, the union of religions is closely connected with the union of languages. There is not the least doubt that, the more men come to understand each other through using a common language, and, in virtue of this common language, enjoy the same rights in all countries, their literature, their ideas, and their ideal will rapidly approach each other, and their religious views will resemble each other.

Hence the whole problem of the union of humanity and the extinction of the mutual animosity of peoples centres upon *one single conclusion*, and I most earnestly commend this conclusion to the attention of you who have met to study the problem of establishing friendship and justice between the various peoples and races of the earth. The conclusion is: *In all our international communications we ought to use a neutral language, one that is easily acquired by all, and used with equal right by all.*

Let us speak in this *neutral* language to any man who does not care to speak to us in *our own* language, and the chief cause of national hatreds, and every occasion for humiliating certain peoples, will disappear. Let every people that does not wish to undergo the humiliation of cultivating the language of its enemies, or of its proud neighbours, have the opportunity of learning a language that is neutral and humiliates nobody, and there will soon be no such thing as a people without literary culture.

Can we have a *neutral* language of this character? Certainly we can. It already exists, and has existed for some time. It serves

its purpose to perfection, has already a considerable number of adherents, and possesses a rich and rapidly increasing literature. This language, which has no master, either materially or morally, which is wholly free and the equal possession of all who use it, which requires of them only that they do not destroy it out of personal ambition and do not alter it without general consent, not only exists and is used, but already fills, with entire satisfaction, the part which I have suggested—the part of a language that shall serve as a fraternal link between the members of the human family and destroy the walls and the animosities which separate them.

Those who wish to discover how this language may be uniformly employed by all peoples, and what a great unifying force there is in this neutral language which belongs equally to all, will do well not to act like those men of science who, even after railways had been working admirably for a number of years, were still publishing large treatises to prove that they were impossible. Let them not discuss the subject from a theoretical point of view, and be content to express themselves in pseudo-scientific phrases on the peculiarities of national languages, but let them attend one of the universal annual Esperantist congresses.

They will behold a perfect harmony between different peoples. They will see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, how, when relations are established on a basis of neutrality which humiliates nobody, all the barriers and feelings of aversion that would separate peoples are banished and wholly forgotten. They will then understand what it is that humanity needs in order to establish a definitive peace among the peoples of the earth.

What mankind requires is not something to which we still look forward, not something that we must endeavour to create with great difficulty and exertion, for it is already a solid and accomplished fact, and admits of no doubt as to its reality. All that we have to do is to *support it*. It is not compromises, which are merely palliatives, nor even the most enlightened political agreements, that will bring peace to humanity. But, as Esperantism makes progress in the world, the men of different peoples will meet more frequently and converse in a neutral speech; they will come to understand and to like each other better; they will feel more deeply that they are of one heart, one mind, and one ideal, and have the same sufferings and sorrows. They will realise that all this mutual hatred of peoples is only a relic of barbaric times. On this neutral base, the one fundamental base, will be established the harmonious and purely “human” humanity of the future, of which the prophets of all lands and all ages have dreamed.

[*Paper submitted in Esperanto and in French.*]

ETHICAL TEACHING IN SCHOOLS WITH REGARD TO RACES

By J. S. MACKENZIE, M.A., Litt.D.,

Professor of Philosophy in the University College of Cardiff, Wales.

THE fundamental importance of moral education in schools is now pretty generally recognised. Hardly any one who is concerned with education at all seriously doubts that the formation of character is the greatest service that the school can render to the nation. But it is recognised also in our time, more widely perhaps than ever before, that the range of moral obligation is much larger than that of the State. My duty to my neighbour is now seen to include not only family, parochial, patriotic, and imperial duties, but also many others, both public and private, which are as wide as humanity itself. Hence the question—How may moral education help in improving the relations between different races?—is readily seen to have great practical significance; and it can hardly be necessary to expound its meaning or to emphasise its urgency. That in a general way moral education may be expected to be of great use for this particular purpose, is sufficiently obvious. The cultivation of any moral quality must tend to improve the relations between human beings under almost any conditions. In particular, the cultivation of some of the most fundamental qualities such as kindness, manners, justice, self-control, would clearly be of great value in this respect. There are, however, some more especial considerations on which it seems advisable to insist as bearing upon this particular problem; and without attempting to be exhaustive, we may refer to them under five general headings. In dealing with them it will be as well to take as our guide the carefully graduated syllabuses of the Moral Education League.¹

The first question that presents itself may be stated thus :—

1. *How may Moral Education cultivate the Conception of Human Personality and its Rights?*—This conception is obviously of the utmost value in removing social and international injustice, and few things can be more important than its clear recognition and a ready and hearty response to its claims by mankind in general. It has already helped in many ways. In most countries it has at least abolished anything in the nature of explicit slavery. It has elevated the position of women. It has improved the relations between masters and workmen. But it has worked somewhat fitfully, and, in particular, it has often been checked by the bars of race and colour.

¹ Syllabuses, both for Elementary and Secondary Schools, can be obtained, free of charge, on application at 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London.

It should be the task of moral education to give it a firmer hold in the minds of the young. Now in this, as in most other aspects of moral education, the study of the history and literature of our own and other nations must always be among the most potent auxiliaries. Any intelligent study of history is sure to bring out the central place that has been occupied at almost all periods of human development by the struggle for freedom. Almost every period of history affords illustrations of the way in which certain races or classes have regarded themselves as specially privileged, and as having some sort of divine right to reduce others to subjection ; and few themes are more spirit-stirring to the young than the record of the struggles by which such dominant races have been gradually forced to recognise the equal humanity of those over whom they thus sought to rule. The rights of life, freedom, property, of education, have from time to time been regarded as a kind of preserve for the ruling classes or nation, and men have only learned by slow degrees, and generally by the insistent pressure of "hungry peoples," that there can be no real and lasting elevation of any class or race unless the whole level of human life around them is at the same time raised. Among ourselves it is chiefly as bearing upon the relations between employer and employed that this conception of equality of rights has recently been emphasised. It has gradually come to be generally admitted that the first charge upon any industrial system is the proper care and freedom of its workers. But history is eloquent of the gradual recognition of similar rights as between subject and sovereign peoples, and even in our own time it is not difficult to find object-lessons of the same. Special topics, such as the emancipation of the slaves in America, the French Revolution, the relations between races in India, Australia, South Africa, or the Congo State, may easily be used for such historical illustration.

In literature, also, it is not hard to find abundance of suitable material. There are many stirring songs and striking poems to enforce the moral that "A man's a man for a' that." In the reading of Shakespeare, the equality of races may be brought home by the heroic character of Othello, by the characterisation of the Welsh Fluellen, and by the utterance of Shylock—"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" Modern literature is certainly full of this humane note. The Bible may also be called into its service. For the Christian at least there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free. The teaching of the Buddha, and of other Oriental sages, and of the Greek and Roman Stoics, is hardly less explicit.

History and literature may thus both be used as instruments for the inculcation of such moral lessons. The study of the

geography and physical features of different countries—when intelligently treated—has also a powerful influence in enlarging the outlook and widening the sympathies of the young. In the more definite and systematic form of moral instruction, what would be required is a more reflective attempt to cultivate that habit of mind which is described in general terms as "Respect for oneself as Person, and for all others as Persons," without regard for distinctions of race, age, sex, status, or any other kind of difference. This more reflective attitude would grow naturally out of those concrete studies to which reference has been made; but may be cultivated also by maxims and discussions, adapted to the ages of the pupils. In the Syllabus of the Moral Education League for Elementary Schools places are provided for the introduction of such lessons under the headings—Honesty (respect for the property of others); Justice (to all human beings, irrespective of sex, age, creed, social position, nationality or race; and to animals, tame and wild); Honour and Self-respect. (The lessons for infants and juniors would naturally be concerned primarily with the more simple aspects of the subjects, such as respect for the property of others, and fairness in games. Those for seniors could treat more broadly of the general conception of Justice and respect for self, and for all other human beings. In the Syllabus for Secondary Schools, rather more opportunities are presented for emphasising the same points, especially under the headings—Honesty, Justice, Humanity, Self-respect, and the Development of Social Relationships.)

The second point is intimately related to the foregoing.

2. *Moral Education should lead to an Appreciation of the Essential Likeness of the Various Races and Classes, in Spite of their Points of Superficial Differences.*—Such points of difference may generally be shown to be largely the results of diverse physical and social conditions; and an attempt should be made, even in the early stages of education, to bring out and emphasise this fact. The study of the history and literature of different countries helps powerfully towards this recognition of a common humanity under a great variety of forms. It is one of the chief arguments for the retention of Latin and Greek, not indeed as universally compulsory subjects, but as important elements in a liberal education. At a later stage the same end may be secured by the encouragement of foreign travel; but this should be preceded by some study of the history and manners—and more incidentally of the geography—of the countries that are to be visited, so that there may be a solid basis for sympathetic appreciation. In bringing our pupils face to face with ages and countries, where the great issues of life

were fought, by men differing in race, or creed, or colour, or habits of life, or form of social organisation, we lead them insensibly to feel how insignificant are such distinctions in comparison with the common aims and interests of mankind. It is in this way that the spirit of toleration may best be fostered. The study of history, which should of course for this purpose be pursued in close conjunction with that of geography, is the best instrument for this purpose, and care should be taken to utilise it to the best advantage.

There is sometimes a tendency, especially in books for the young, to over-emphasise the patriotic side, to dwell upon our "glorious victories" and pass over our inglorious defeats, to advertise the wrong-doings of our enemies and be studiously blind to any ignoble actions of our own. It would no doubt be depressing and discouraging, especially to the young, to dwell morbidly upon the defects of our own people. We need the kind of inspiration and encouragement that comes of the consciousness that we inherit fine traditions. But this need not prevent us from rejoicing also in the heroic deeds of others, even if they were our own enemies. Such a poem as Browning's "Hervé Riel," or a sympathetic treatment of the career of Joan of Arc (*not* Shakespeare's, however, nor even Schiller's) would be admirable for this purpose. Faithful stories of the Indian Mutiny might similarly awaken the mind to the fact that the British had not a monopoly of heroism, loyalty, or devotion. In a very different way, the Bible story of the Good Samaritan may help to enforce the same kind of lesson. Many subjects are specially adapted to promote this spirit of toleration, *e.g.*, Justice, Truthfulness, Moderation, Social Organisation, the Development of Social Relationship, Toleration. At certain stages the association of boys and girls in their school work may also be useful in this respect, as tending to familiarise the mind with the conception of unity in essentials along with superficial differences; but the right use of this element requires much care.

We now come to what is really the most central consideration of all for our present purposes, *viz.*, the recognition that—

3. *It is Qualities of Character that form the Real Basis of Superiority in Men or Nations.*—It is in emphasising this, of course, that the chief value of moral education would be ultimately felt; but it would be felt more from its general spirit than from its more particular lessons. In this, as in other respects, literature would come to its aid. English literature is certainly rich in its suggestions that "Worth makes the man and want of it the fellow," that "'Tis only noble to be good," that "Kind hearts are more than coronets, and simple faith than Norman blood," that "Maids"—and

others—"should strive to be good," "And let who will be clever." In prose, the writings of Carlyle and Ruskin are specially valuable for their insistence on this; but no doubt it is only at the higher stages of educational work that much use could be made of them. The literature of most other countries supply works of similar prophets. It is, however, not merely on moral qualities, in the narrower sense, that emphasis should be laid, but rather on all those qualities of character that make for the promotion of the complete human ideal. The "intellectual virtues" should certainly be cultivated as well as those that are called more distinctly "moral"; and in the cultivation of these nearly all school subjects may have a place. The study of history would in particular have a special value by calling attention to the solid excellences by which great peoples, such as the Greeks and Romans, have been characterised, and also by bringing out the fact that those who are politically subject are not always inferior in some important human qualities that win our admiration. The Greeks are not the only race who, in one way or another, have conquered their conquerors. It would be easy to show that England may learn much from her dependencies in India, Africa, and elsewhere. Indeed, it is in the attempt to educate and assimilate subject-races that the emphasis on fundamental qualities of character becomes specially important. One of the chief difficulties, in particular in the relations between more developed and less developed races, one that can easily be illustrated from the colour problem in the United States, is that the latter are apt to acquire certain forms of superficial cleverness and technical knowledge and skill before they have gained the more essential elements of intellectual and moral character.

This is due largely to the fact that in the more developed races themselves the emphasis is apt to be laid unduly on the former. Most of those who have made any serious study of educational methods would agree that this is at present the tendency against which it is most important to be on our guard. A nation, no less than an individual, which despises the more liberal and humane aspects of education, because it thinks them unpractical, is indeed almost sure to be out-stripped in the end—even in material prosperity—by one which regards education as a generous preparation for that life of service to the community whereby each member's moral and intellectual character may be perfected. Such an idealism in education has been the making both of Germany and Japan. It is still true on the whole that all things are added to those who seek first the Kingdom of God.

Besides, however, emphasising in these ways the common and

essential nature of humanity, it is important also to recognise fully—

4. *That Different Peoples, Different Classes, Different Sexes, and so on have each a Distinctive Type of Personality with a Distinctive Value of its own.*—According to the common phrase, “It takes all sorts of people to make a world,” or, in a finer and subtler one, “God fulfils himself in many ways, lest one good custom should corrupt the world.” In the study of history and literature, children may be taught to understand the peculiar ideals and characteristics of their country, as compared with other countries, and to learn, not that its contribution to the sum-total of human excellence and welfare is necessarily better than that of others, but simply that it is somewhat different—a separate note in the “music of humanity.” They should be led to appreciate the unique personalities and ideals of such peoples as the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, and also of the Japanese and other Oriental peoples, as well as of the leading types in Europe and America, and thus to acquire the habit of looking out for some characteristic excellences in all peoples. There has often been too great a tendency to insist that “East is East and West is West,” and that we can never hope to see them come together. Few things are more encouraging for the future of the world than the way in which both the Eastern and the Western peoples are beginning to realise how much they can learn from each other. This might easily be brought home to the young at an early stage by stories illustrative of the special excellences of diverse peoples. Mr. F. J. Gould’s collection of Indian stories for use in Moral Education lessons may be specially referred to in this connection.¹

In the general life of a school, the separation of studies may, to some extent, be used as a means to the same purpose—the ideals of science students, for instance, being recognised as somewhat different from those of literary students. In the more systematic treatment of morals, lessons on Patriotism should be used to inculcate a similar moral. They should be given in such a way as to emphasise the vital importance of loyalty to those particular ideals and excellences which we, as members of a particular nation or group, inherit. This would inevitably lead to some recognition of the equal duty of others to be loyal to their best traditions, which are not quite the same. Lessons of a similar kind would fall naturally under such headings as Truthfulness, Co-operation, Work, Toleration, Social Organisation.

With older pupils it might be possible to go a little further than this, and to try to bring out clearly—

¹ *Youth’s Noble Path*. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London.

5. *The Identity and the Comprehensive Character of the Human Ideal as evolved in a Number of Different Forms.*—It might be pointed out that the ideals of every race are tentative and partial, and thus become enriched, completed, unified, and purified by mutual help and mutual criticism. Among other things, the study of the great religions of the world, in outward appearance so diverse, may be used to show that they all contain the same fundamental truths in more or less imperfect forms. A study of this kind would help also to reveal the fact that the ideals and excellences are not all on the same level, and that it is important that the less developed should be gradually brought into harmony with the more developed. In this connection the idea of *noblesse oblige* would acquire its fullest significance. Such lessons no doubt could not be given at all definitely before the last two years of life in the Elementary School, but their spirit may pervade the teaching throughout. In the Secondary School, however, they may be given pretty fully from the Remove Form upwards.

[Paper submitted in English.]

THE COSMOPOLITAN CLUB MOVEMENT

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER, *University of Wisconsin, United States.*

*General Secretary of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs,
Editor of "The Cosmopolitan Student."*

THERE is a movement among the students of the United States which furnishes to the world a striking illustration of the possibility of men from different countries living together—often even under the same roof—in friendship and harmony; a movement which unites in a league of world-brotherhood students of every race, colour, and creed; a movement in which the terms dependent and independent races are unknown, but which assumes all races and peoples to be on a footing of equality. This movement is of recent development, and had its origin in the change of complexion of the American student body by virtue of the fact that thousands of Orientals, Latin-Americans, and Europeans are now thronging our halls of learning, where formerly the foreigner was an almost unknown quantity in an American university. By way of illustration, let me cite the fact that at the University of Wisconsin, which I have the honour to represent, the number of foreign students has within ten years increased from 7 to 107—a condition which is typical of every large American university. The movement to which I refer is the Cosmopolitan Club Movement, the aims, purposes, and ideals of which it is my purpose to present in this paper.

On the eve of March 12, 1903, sixteen foreign and two native students of the University of Wisconsin, together representing eleven nationalities, gathered in the modest little apartments of a young Japanese. They founded an International Club, in which the representatives of every nation in the university were to meet on a basis of equality and brotherhood.

This was a new departure in student activities. *Foreign* societies, it is true, were no uncommon feature of American college life. Every large institution of learning had its prospering Norwegian, German, or Latin-American club. But the idea of a *cosmopolitan* organisation with universal brotherhood as its corner-stone, was a novel one. By many it was denounced as a chimera. The very idea of amalgamating into one society men of the most diverse countries caused a faint smile of contempt on the lips of narrow-minded nativists.

Yet what happened? The club so founded grew and prospered, until to-day, with a membership of seventy, representing twenty countries, it is one of the most flourishing, and certainly the most interesting, organisation in the university. The cosmopolitan idea has partly germinated in, partly spread to, other universities, so that now twenty-four leading State and endowed institutions of learning count such clubs among their valuable assets.

A National Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs was founded in 1907, which has a membership of over two thousand and includes representatives from almost sixty different countries. A monthly organ, *The Cosmopolitan Student*, keeps the members in touch with each other and with the various movements for the better organisation of the world. At a convention held at The Hague, Holland, in August, 1909, an affiliation was even perfected with the *Fédération Internationale des Étudiants*, better known as *Corda Fratres*. Our work is thus on an international basis, and the possibilities for effective co-operation unlimited. United, the two bodies have become a league of universal brotherhood which will soon encompass the student body of the whole civilised world.

Hawaian and Frenchman, Japanese and American, Chinese, German, Hungarian, Filipino, and Armenian, all are on a footing of equality in this unique organisation. What matters it that one is an engineer, another a law student, a third an agriculturist? That one believes in monarchical government, while the other sees in the control of the masses the only solution of the social problem? That one is a Japanese prince, the second a Russian revolutionist, the third a plain American farmer boy, the fourth a Hindu priest? Why despise a man because his skin is yellow or brown or black? The members of the international and cosmopolitan clubs need no unity of colour, race, or social position to bind them together. Theirs is a firmer tie.

"Above all Nations is Humanity," is the proud motto of our Association. Humanity—all-embracing, all-including, linked with the idea of brotherly love, of sympathetic understanding, of service to mankind—this is a bond of union far transcending national, social, and racial lines of demarcation.

The purpose of the international and cosmopolitan clubs is to bring together college young men from different countries, to aid and direct foreign students coming to the United States, to cultivate the arts of peace, and to establish strong international friendships.

The activities of the individual organisations are numerous and varied. Lectures on international topics, discussions on subjects of foreign interest, and occasional social functions are some of the forms which these activities take. But most conspicuous are the so-called "national nights." In these the members of one nation, if possible on the evening of their country's holiday, describe the history and institutions of their fatherland, play music by their native composers, and discuss the relation of their State to other Powers. In the course of these "national nights" the members get a better insight into the mode of living, customs, and view-point of people of different races than they can ever gain from the coloured accounts of travellers in foreign lands. This broadening influence has taught them to have sympathy with their fellow-man's religion, however divergent from their own ; with his social rank, however unequal ; with his political creed, however contrary ; with his nationality, however different.

In the local branches the best fellowship and comradeship prevails. As soon as a chapter is strong enough to assume financial obligations, it rents a suite of club rooms, or its members lease an entire house, the lower floor of which is devoted to club purposes, while the rest of the building is used as a dormitory. In the club rooms the members meet their fellow cosmopolitans on terms of friendship, and form attachments that last far beyond college days. They engage in discussions which contribute materially toward eliminating national prejudices.

The American membership in the cosmopolitan clubs is made up of students who are selected because they are known to have sympathy with the foreigner, and to enjoy good reputation in the university community. Members of the university faculties, too, form a conspicuous element in the American contingent. Through the United States members the foreigner is introduced into American families ; from them he learns the characteristics of the American people and their ideals. In return, his American hosts have the opportunity of coming in contact with a man who in all likelihood is destined to become a leader in his community.

American students, as a rule, are proud to have the foreigner in

their midst. They realise that the foreigner is here not merely to get a degree, and to acquire laboriously from books written in a language not his own what he might with less difficulty learn from texts or translations in his mother-tongue. The foreigner is with us to give as well as to receive ; to communicate his own impressions as well as to absorb ours. His migration to a foreign soil sprang from a desire to become a citizen of the world. His patriotism led him to disregard family ties and the associations of his youth, and to go abroad among strange peoples and strange nations in order that he might return a better citizen and a more useful member of society. The presence of the foreigner is thus a source of inspiration to the American. His example is well worth emulating. One cannot but be impressed by his lofty ideals, his steadfastness of purpose, and his broad-minded conception of his mission.

But the movement has a deeper significance. In the words of the distinguished secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, "As an agency for promoting the final establishment of permanent peace among the nations, there is nothing in the educational sphere likely to bear richer fruit." Close personal contact between peoples of different races is a necessity in order that they may understand each other. It is a fundamental prerequisite to any movement for world peace. National antipathies or prejudices in a large part rest upon mutual ignorance. In our international and cosmopolitan clubs men from about sixty different countries are brought in contact with each other. They learn to understand each other ; they learn to respect each other ; they learn to admire each other ; they learn to love each other. They cannot help but carry home with them the message of "Peace on Earth, Goodwill toward Men."

These facts are of peculiar significance when one considers that the foreign students are for the most part representatives of the flower of their country ; men coming from the very best of families. Many are sent by their Governments. They will later occupy positions of trust and honour in their respective communities. They will become the leaders of public opinion, and even of the political spirit and policies of their nations. In proportion as these men from different countries are brought in contact with their fellow-students of different nationality, in proportion as they learn to understand each other, in proportion as they realise that we are but members of one large human family, and that therefore war and hostility are thoughts unworthy of a rising generation—will the hopes for the realisation of world peace be increased.

[Paper submitted in English.]

, INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR INTER-RACIAL GOODWILL

By EDWIN D. MEAD, *Boston, U.S.A.*

THE Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration were inaugurated in 1895, after there had been held at Lake Mohonk for several years previously Annual Conferences upon the duty of the American people to the Indians living within their borders. The first three Mohonk Arbitration Conferences were made memorable by powerful addresses by Edward Everett Hale, the Nestor of the Peace cause in America, as we liked to call him in his later years, demanding and prophesying a Permanent International Tribunal. By virtue of their grasp of the international situation, their foresight and their inspiration, these addresses were the most inspiring and most noteworthy which have been heard at the Mohonk Arbitration Conferences during these seventeen years. Their central demand was that nations, well disposed as the best of them were to arbitration, generally speaking, should not leave provision for arbitration to times when some special dispute arose or some special danger pressed, then creating a special commission to deal with the particular case arising, but that the nations should co-operate to establish a Permanent International Tribunal, which should always be in existence and always ready to deal with every international difference. Cases should never wait for courts, said Dr. Hale, but courts should always be ready for cases, and this was in no field more imperative than in the international field where there was no provision of any kind. It was foolish and criminal to leave to some acute crisis, when two contesting peoples were aflame and in hot blood over their disagreements, the preparation of machinery to dispose of the disagreements. No time is so unpropitious for such action. There should be a Permanent International Tribunal, of whose existence every nation would be conscious in the critical hour when there was need of the offices of arbitration. Its chief service, said Dr. Hale, would be in the fact that it existed, that every nation knew that it existed, and that not to have recourse to it instead of to individual vengeance in the hour of conflict or dispute was dishonour. In a word, civilised nations in the family of nations must follow the same course in their disputes and differences which is followed by civilised men in individual nations. When Dr. Hale in 1895, 1896, and 1897 thundered this demand reiteratedly at Lake Mohonk, he was told by learned and distinguished diplomats and jurists that it was a noble ideal, and one which in

some fine but distant future would doubtless be realised, but it was far ahead of the times, and its realisation was not to be expected in our generation. That was probably the judgment of most so-called "hard-headed" men, even progressive men, at Mohonk and elsewhere, in 1897. But in 1898 the First Hague Conference was called, and in 1899 the Permanent International Tribunal at The Hague was established.

This is an interesting, an encouraging, and a directing chapter of history for us as we meet in the interests of another great line of effort to bring about justice and brotherhood among the peoples of the world. It reminds us that in this time, when men the world over touch elbows as never before, and the interest of each is the interest of all as never before, very great things may be suddenly brought to pass in a very short time. But especially it directs us as to the right way to do the things which we, who have come together in this Congress, have to do. It is no new thing for good men in a score of nations to interest themselves seriously in the relations of different races within and without their own borders, and no new thing for special organisations to be created, and special Conferences held, to deal with special wrongs. Such flagrant wrongs have compelled sympathy and indignation and protest and united action of some sort in every year of the lives of every man in this Congress, and in every nation from which most of us come. The Congo Reform Association is an illustration. The terrible atrocities in the Congo were told about by missionaries and others here and there for years. By and by the volume of reports became so great and so authentic that there was wide public discussion and public protest. Mr. Morell and others here in England were so stirred that they threw their lives into the work of exposing and reforming the horrible situation. You in England organised a Congo Reform Association. We in America, prompted by your action, organised another; France and Switzerland, and I know not what other countries, organised theirs, and all did noble, vigorous, expensive and measurably successful work. The attention of the world was arrested, the conscience of the world was touched, and there is undoubtedly a better state of things in the Congo State to-day. At any rate, all men there know they are under watch and on their good behaviour. Groups of humane and civilised men have risen and organised similarly when there was wickedness in Armenia, in Macedonia, in Crete, in Russia, in India. Societies exist or have existed in England and America and other countries concerning inter-racial tyranny and wrong in these late years in all these places and a dozen more; but the efforts have usually been

so delayed, so improvised, so poorly supported, and so unrelated, that they have never half done their work. They are like the special arbitration commissions, arraigned by Dr. Hale, created under pressure all through the last century, to meet some menacing crisis. Such commissions did not meet the world's needs, and these fitful and sporadic societies to deal with sudden tragedies and threats do not meet the world's need. The world had to organise a Permanent International Tribunal; and we have to create a permanent international organisation to watch the world over the inter-racial injustices and wrongs which have commanded our assemblage here. I do not forget that there exist agencies for coping with the tyranny of so-called superior peoples over weak peoples of much more permanent character and much broader scope than such organisations as the Congo Reform Association. The Aborigines Protection Society here in Great Britain is such an agency. As concerns British obligation and effort in one great field of our problem, it is in its definition of purpose and range of activity almost precisely the thing to be desired in every country. This noble Society, which was founded as far back as 1837, three-quarters of a century ago, was the outcome of the work of a Committee of the House of Commons "to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries, where British settlements are made, and to neighbouring tribes, in order to secure to them justice and the protection of their rights." When one looks at the map of the world and notes the places where British settlements have been made, one realises that there are few tribes which are not neighbouring to British settlements on one side or another, and that the definition of purpose by the old Parliamentary Committee was therefore well-nigh universal. So, I think the Aborigines Protection Society has construed its function. It was itself certainly, as we in the United States came to know well, one of the real Congo Reform Associations, and it has been pretty well every special kind of a reform association in carrying out its stated purpose "to assist in protecting the defenceless and promoting the advancement of uncivilised tribes." It was fitting that the British Anti-Slavery Society, founded at almost exactly the same time, should amalgamate with it two years ago; for the work of the two societies has constantly run in parallel courses. Looking through the last number (January, 1911) of the quarterly journal of these united societies, I find that there is no other country whose race problems receive so much attention in its pages as my own. There is a long account of the gathering at the Whitehall Rooms last October in honour of Booker Washington. This is followed by a letter con-

cerning the visit to Europe this year of Professor DuBois; there is a tribute to Julia Ward Howe and her services in the American Anti-Slavery conflict; and there is a long review of Sir Harry H. Johnston's book upon "The Negro in the New World," accompanied by a portrait of John Brown. Besides these things there is an article relating to certain work for the benefit of the MicMac Indians of Prince Edward Island. When your British Aborigines Protection Society is able to consider to this extent in a single issue of its Journal the rights and wrongs of the weaker races in America, it seems to me that you already have here in Great Britain what can easily be made the adequate British agency in such a group of societies as I desire to see established in the civilised nations, all co-operating in an international union for inter-racial justice. Some of us in the United States who were active in the Congo Reform Association were brought by that experience to feel the need of some such society of broader scope, like the Aborigines Protection Society. Our study of the wrongs in the Congo brought us sharply up against similar wrongs in other parts of Africa, and we began to hear of almost precisely the same evils in South America. We saw that we were dealing with only one aspect of a world-wide and persistent problem; and I think that no one felt this more deeply than Dr. G. Stanley Hall, the President of our Congo Reform Association. He had long been a careful and sympathetic student of the conditions of the less developed races and of the tyrannies and cruelties inflicted upon them by "civilised" brutality and greed. Professor William James had deeply felt the same and written burningly upon it at the time of our American iniquities in the Philippines. In meetings of our Congo Reform Association President Hall and others spoke of the need and possibility of some association of broader scope; but up to the present time we have not created such an association in the United States. What I urge here is the creation of such organisations in the United States and in every civilised country, to be leagued together in an international union.

In the United States we have, of course, had special societies to deal with our two great racial problems, those concerning the Negro and the Indian. Professor DuBois, who visits Europe this summer, represents the National Association for the Welfare of Coloured People, which is the most recently organised of various societies which have defined their purposes in similar terms, and some of which still exist. Professor DuBois is the most active worker in this new society, of which Mr. Moorfield Storey is the president, and whose officers and members are chiefly white men. The Constitution League of the United States, in which Mr. John

E. Milholland, almost as much at home here in London as in New York, has been perhaps the most active force, is another American agency which has been earnestly devoted to fighting the political oppressions and discriminations to which the Negroes in the South are still subjected. Our Anti-Imperialist League, organised to oppose the policy of our government in the Philippines, and of which Mr. Moorfield Storey is also the president, has become in very high degree, by the very exigencies of its problem, a kind of Aborigines Protection Society. There are various organisations among our Negroes themselves concerned with the sufferings and struggles of their race in America.

We have had for many years an Indian Rights Association, and for twenty years there has been held at Lake Mohonk an Annual Conference upon our duty to the Indian, attended by many of our best and ablest men, and resulting in immense improvement. This Conference has in recent years been so expanded in its scope as to take in the problems arising from our relations to our so-called dependencies—the Philippines here playing, of course, the most important part. There is no place in the United States better fitted, by the great traditions created by Conferences on International Arbitration, to become a centre for Conferences on inter-racial justice than Lake Mohonk. Its present autumn Conferences upon the rights of our Indians and the people of our dependencies might profitably be expanded into Conferences of this broader scope, with no prejudice, but only gain, to the special purposes which called them into being.

It is possible, however, that the centre for this broader work in the United States will be elsewhere. There has been started at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, during the last two years, the most intelligent and well-considered movement known to me in all the world bearing upon the particular problems of this Congress. The object of the Congress has been stated to be “the discussion of the relation of the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples.” I have been speaking chiefly of the relations of white and coloured races, viewing the coloured races as those coming within the purview of such students and reformers as those constituting the Aborigines Protection Society. To the discussion of such relations the Clark University Conferences will in considerable measure be devoted; but they will also be devoted to what may be called more specifically the relations between the peoples of the West and those of the East, and to those relations the two Conferences already have been devoted. The President of Clark University, as is well known to most scholars present here, is Dr. G. Stanley Hall, whom I have

already mentioned as the President of our American Congo Reform Association; and I think that his experience in the work of that Association has had much to do with his interest in the founding of the Clark University Conferences, in whose organisation his able and devoted associate has been Professor George H. Blakeslee of the University. The first of these Conferences was held in the autumn of 1909, and concerned itself with the relations of America to the Far East, chiefly China and Japan. The Second Conference was held in the autumn of 1910, and concerned itself with the Near East. Better thought out and better carried out programmes than those of these two Conferences have seldom been seen; and they mark the beginning of a new era for us in the United States touching the scientific study of Eastern peoples and just dealings with them. Perhaps the best outcome of these Conferences, which are to be made regular, has been the establishment of a quarterly journal, *The Journal of Race Development*, in which many of the papers read at the Conferences have been printed, which is by far the best publication in this field which we have ever seen in America, and certainly one of the best organs in the world of the great movement which has brought us together here. With the Mohonk autumn Conferences developing as they are developing, and with the institution of these Clark University Conferences, I feel the outlook for thorough and worthy attention in the United States to inter-racial problems to be most promising; and the establishment with us of an efficient American society, corresponding in some sort to the British Aborigines Protection Society, is only a question of to-morrow or the next day.

In showing the historic preparation and present readiness for broader organisation of our forces for dealing with the inter-racial problem, I have surveyed practically only Great Britain and the United States, because I am most at home here, and they serve me best for illustration. In some ways, too, the movement is farther advanced in these two countries; as there are some reasons why they have been under exceptional obligation to efforts in this field. But I do not forget the noble humanitarian efforts and the most scientific and valuable studies in France, Germany, and other countries. The problem urges itself upon the minds and consciences of serious men the world over. It is not simply a problem of dealing with aborigines nor of the relations of white men with black or yellow men; it is a problem of the mutual relations of peoples of all races and all grades of civilisation. Cruelty indeed is commonest where the interval between the races is greatest; but it is questionable whether it is not in fields where the interval is slighter that the greatest mischief is done by ignorance, selfishness, and pride.

A primary function of a movement like the present one is to cultivate good understanding and goodwill between all peoples near and far. We have a noisy and pestiferous little group in America whose regular business seems to be to stir up suspicion and hatred of the people of Japan. You have a larger group in England whose similar vocation is to sow seeds of enmity with the German people. The source of most of the troubles with which we are coping here is ignorance. Dr. John H. DeForest, in his impressive pamphlet on "American Ignorance of Oriental Languages," has startlingly shown the serious practical dangers menacing us in the United States from our ignorance of the speech and some of the simplest usages of our Japanese brothers. I found in Germany, a little while ago, groups of noble and aspiring young people working for international progress, and, fearing that the name of peace society might not be most propitious for their effort, they called their groups Societies for Good Understanding between Peoples (*Völkerverständigung*). It comes to the same thing, and the name hits the central danger and the central need. We all need to have more to do with each other and know each other better.

There was recently an important Conference in the United States of representatives of the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists to confer about Christian union; and a Presbyterian leader commented afterwards upon the mischief which had resulted from lack of personal acquaintance. "We cannot force union," he said, "but we can know each other. We have lived in our respective worlds, knowing well the men in our own body, but knowing not at all the men in other bodies. It has been an uplift to know these leaders of other names. After all, they are much like us. When we all get to know, all union will be here." If such a confession of mutual ignorance on the part of groups of American Christians and the mischief of it is possible, how appalling appears the mutual ignorance of widely differing races and the mischief of it!

I speak of the international organisation which I propose as one in behalf of inter-racial justice; but I mean more than that—I mean that it shall also deal with the problem of how backward races may best be assisted in their upward progress and development and how men of all races may have better personal acquaintance with each other.

Mr. Milholland in New York, Mr. Moscheles here in London, have talked much of cosmopolitan or international clubs. They would have international clubs in London, in Paris, in Berlin, in New York, in Tokyo, in Shanghai, where men concerned with international problems should meet socially; and the members of one

club should be members of all, wherever they journeyed. It is from good conversation, they say, and rightly say, that more good frequently results than from congresses. Let us promote the formation of such international clubs; for every one of them would be a potent centre for our cause.

We talk of this as now a little world, since Mauretania and wireless telegraphy and the other machinery for shrinkage have multiplied; but it is only in certain definite respects that it is a little world, and in the many indefinite respects it is a big world still, mostly barbarian, with its peoples far apart and very ignorant of each other. The solution of the great international problems involved is not possible to national societies working separately. International work must be internationally done; and in this field of racial problems evolution has advanced so far that we are ready for the international step and for definite organisation in every nation.

When one is asked to suggest the method and form of organisation, the answer is simple. It has happened more than once in movements like ours that definite *international* organisation has preceded adequate *national* organisation. It was so of the Peace Congresses. The First Universal Peace Congress was, like this First Universal Races Congress, held in London. That was in 1843. That first Peace Congress here in London, we Americans like to remember, was brought about by the American Peace Society in Boston, as I was interested to read in your circular that this London Races Congress owed its original impulse to Felix Adler of New York. Four great International Peace Congresses followed that London Congress of 1843. Then there was an interregnum of nearly forty years; and the first of the present series of International Peace Congresses was held in Paris in 1889. But it was not until 1902, almost sixty years after the London International Congress of 1843, that there was a National Peace Congress, that being in France. England followed with National Peace Congresses, then the United States, then Germany—the International Congresses meantime going steadily on, under the general control of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, made up of representatives of the various nations.

If we are looking for precedent in organisation, here, therefore, is all the precedent we need. Let us consider this Universal Races Congress no isolated or final gathering, but simply the first of a series of Universal Races Congresses, bi-ennial or tri-ennial, which shall go regularly on until the day of inter-racial justice and fraternity dawns. Let us, too, have our International Bureau of Inter-racial Justice at London or at Berne; and let us who are here go home to

Germany, to France, to Italy, to India, to China, to America, each group pledged to organise in its own country a National Society of Inter-racial Justice, with its annual National Congress. The material for organisation is abundant. I see here in your circular twenty pages of names of men upon the General Committee of this Congress. There are nearly two hundred names from the United States alone. Here is already, if these will so resolve, an American Society of Inter-racial Justice. Let them so resolve; and so let the delegates from France and Belgium and Germany and India resolve. The second Universal Races Congress here in London or in Paris, or wherever it may be, would then be largely a representative Congress made up in great measure of regular delegates from national societies. Each national society should have its bureau and its publications, and of such national publications there should be the completest interchange; while the central international bureau should correlate the various national activities and keep each particular effort in influential touch with all the rest.

I would suggest that the various national Inter-racial Justice Congresses be held each year in the same week as the sessions of the National Peace Congresses in the same countries, perhaps on the day preceding the opening of such Congresses. The causes appeal to substantially the same constituencies, and the fixing of such a time for the meetings would certainly increase the attendance. Where the subjects to be considered by the Races Congress are so numerous and important as to demand a conference of several days—and that describes the condition in the United States at this time—it may be desirable that this combination should not be too close; but I am suggesting for consideration a general principle of procedure.

I do it for the sake of urging further the close relation of these causes. The wars of to-day have very different provocations from those of two or three centuries ago. They spring almost entirely from commercial rivalries or the collisions of races, growing usually in the latter case out of the exploitation of weaker by stronger peoples. Whatever can counteract this is a distinct accomplishment for the peace and order of the world; and that makes this Universal Races Congress perhaps the most important Peace Congress of the present year. The promotion of the progress of the movement here inaugurated cannot fail to appeal to bodies of men like the trustees of the new Carnegie Peace Foundation as distinctly within their province; although there should be no dependence by this organisation upon other organisations, but a vigorous effort by its friends in every nation to secure for it independent and adequate financial support.

In referring to Dr. Hale's prophetic Mohonk Addresses demanding a Permanent International Tribunal, I spoke of the rapidity with which in our day great movements are consummated. There is every reason why the international effort inaugurated here in London to-day should achieve quick and decisive success. It certainly will do it if we here so highly resolve. *Let us resolve that every nation here represented shall organise a national society this year, and hold a national congress next year; and let us plan for a second international congress three years from now.* I wish that that 1914 Congress might be held in the United States. That is to be with us a noteworthy international year. We are then to celebrate the centennial of peace between the United States and Great Britain. We shall invite the International Peace Congress to hold its session with us that year; and the Interparliamentary Union will be similarly invited. It will be a good year for the thoughtful men of the world to confer on American soil upon this problem of the right relations of races, which is a cardinal phase of the general problem of international fraternity and peace. We can tell you in America of noteworthy advances in the solution of our own great races problems. There has been almost a revolution in the last generation in our dealing with our Indian population; and there is at this time a movement hardly less than revolutionary going on in the minds of the best Southern white men touching the Negroes. In the whole history of civilisation there has been no more remarkable advance than that of the Negroes in our Southern States since emancipation. The story in industry, in property, and in education is the same. In 1905, six years ago, it was my office to arrange in Boston a course of lectures upon our six most prominent institutions for Negro education—Howard University, Hampton, Fisk, Atlanta, Tuskegee, and Beira—by the president or some leading representative of the institution; and these addresses were published together in a volume entitled *From Servitude to Service*. It was a remarkable survey of remarkable achievement. It was published only six years ago, in 1905, when I venture to say that there had been up to that time altogether not so many words of strong and cordial congratulation in high Southern places upon that educational advance as have been uttered in the subsequent six years. That volume could be matched to-day by one equally impressive made up of addresses by presidents of Southern universities and other leading Southern men recognising and urging that the Negro race must have as its preachers, teachers, lawyers, and doctors men of the highest education, and that no solution of the race question is possible which is not based upon the desire to develop every race to its highest capacity. This is promising and prophetic; and it is indicative of the new insight and

new conscience which are coming into the consideration of the race question everywhere. The wrongs to our Southern Negroes, political and social, are still flagrant and intolerable; but I am emphasising here the elements of hope and genuine advance. I believe that in the next decade the new humanity which is becoming so pervasive will achieve no greater triumphs than in the field of inter-racial justice, and will do this the more rapidly and effectively as we all make the world our parish and work together internationally.

[Paper submitted in English.]

APPENDIX



TURKEY

By Dr. RIZA TEVFIK,

Deputy for Adrianople in the Imperial Ottoman Parliament.

HUMANITY, in its inevitable evolution, advances towards an ideal, just as our solar system follows some great path in its voyage to the unknown region where it will fulfil the cycle of its evolution. The idea of a congress for the purpose of bringing races together and endeavouring to secure a better understanding between them is, to my mind, the symbol of a sublime ideal of which I have long desired to see the realisation.

The Turkey of to-day has ever been a vast battle-field, and on it the older civilisations have left the ruins of their ephemeral splendour. From Asia Minor have come, more than once, the forces that have devastated Europe. Warlike nations have often passed through it; they have trodden on a land that seems, from its geographical situation, a bridge built between the two continents. Each nation has left in it, as it passed, some portion of its frame, lacerated and torn with battle, until the Ottoman nation, as we find it to-day, has become a veritable mosaic of races.

In relation to the rest of the world, therefore, our microcosm provides, in a comparatively narrow field, the best opportunities for a close study of the question of the different races which are represented among us by so many and such heterogeneous communities. Hence it is that the most pressing social question for constitutional Turkey has been, from the time the new government was proclaimed, the firm and definitive establishment of a friendly understanding between its various ethnic elements, in order to be able to secure the first conditions of a harmonious and prosperous social life.

The attainment of this supreme aim has been a matter of very serious consideration to us, and we have been compelled to study the chief conditions of it. In this way we have succeeded in detecting the causes of the unhappy discord that there is in the concert of social life; in this way, too, we have become acutely conscious of the practical and actual difficulty of the task.

This analytical study cannot be anything more than a summary and orderly account of the important question which at present interests us. But I may be permitted to observe that, not only is there a striking analogy between social and moral questions of the same general description, whether they arise in Turkey or elsewhere, but these social questions have a more or less evident, but

always real and persistent, affinity with economic and political questions. One might say, in mathematical language, that social questions and economic questions are functional with each other.

I believe that it will be better and more convenient to consider the question of races from two general points of view; first economically, then morally. I am bound to say that, if there are mischievous antipathies at the present time separating races, it is especially due to a certain lack of equilibrium which interferes with the mutual relations and injures the reciprocal interests of races. These interests, however, material or moral, objective or subjective, real or imaginary, go to form the question of life or death, for which each race struggles, with a mind illumined by its own instinct of self-preservation.

Hence it is that these differences easily degenerate, especially when there is sudden and aggressive contact, into a mischievous antipathy that is dangerous to the cause of true civilisation, because these unfortunate circumstances lower man's moral level and reveal the brute-nature that is hidden in the depths of his being. It is one cause of that "return to a primitive condition" which we must endeavour to prevent.

For the same reason these differences give birth to a whole series of obstinate and hurtful prejudices. These may indeed have some justification, and even a relative utility, in view of the preservation of society; but from another point of view they are a costly evil, because such a state of things can only be obtained at the price of intellectual degradation.

Knowing well that the adoption of too exclusive or narrow a point of view will only lead me to erroneous conclusions, however logical they may be, I shall endeavour to refrain from entering into details and set aside all nationalist and religious sentiment, in order to take a general view of the history of humanity.

I shall, therefore, deal with this important question only in an abstract, and even negative, sense; that is to say, instead of enumerating a series of conditions that may be necessary to establish a good understanding between races, I will endeavour to concentrate my attention on the causes which, in my opinion, prevent this good understanding that everybody desires to see. Although this way of considering the question is negative in form, it will lead to certain positive and practical results.

Amongst the causes of racial discord there are quite a number of "conventional prejudices" which are generally regarded as indisputable scientific truths and have the authority of law in the civilised world. It would have been well if M. Max Nordau, the able author of *Conventional Lies*, had classified them. Some of them, such as "racial prejudice," have the air of being scientific, but are none the less mere prejudices. Although Herbert Spencer, the eminent philosopher, and M. Novicow, the distinguished sociologist, have given us a masterly treatment of this question, I should like to deal with it and draw certain conclusions in regard to it.

Racial prejudice rests, like all other prejudices, on a very complicated framework of sophisms. The superiority of one race over another is estimated by its capacity and its aptitude for civilisation, and that is quite sound. But, unfortunately, civilisation is not properly understood; that is the root of the evil. There we must seek the inexhaustible source of the confused fallacies which have so far complicated and perverted the notion of race that we sometimes take it to be an "entity" of a new order.

In the first place, we are accustomed to think that the only virtues necessary for civilisation are martial qualities. We neglect far too much the virtues in the proper sense of the word, the moral virtues. That comes of an erroneous or superficial study of the facts of history and of a false interpretation of certain principles of naturalist philosophy—principles which are perfectly true, but relative. It is on this point that we draw up illegitimate and sophistical genera-

lisations, dragging in certain kinds of sociological and political facts which have no place in a province that is ruled by a biological principle, for instance.

I am as convinced as any man that "the survival of the fittest in the struggle for life" is a sound principle, but I very much question whether the only conditions of this fitness are what we call the "warlike virtues." If I am told that such is the situation invariably in the animal world I reply that it ought not to be the same in the human world. I may add that in the animal world fertility, which is a distinctive sign of inferior races and species, is an important element in the fitness of the species to survive in virtue of its numbers. It is the same with endurance, which makes the individuals of a species better able to resist the destructive agencies of Nature. The exigencies of material life are other conditions that must not be neglected; a people whose individual members can live on a handful of rice or an onion and reproduce indefinitely is as formidable as the peoples who have large guns. All these qualities, and many others, facilitate adaptation by reducing its first conditions. These are qualities of races that are generally regarded as inferior, but the race that has these qualities may command a larger zone of expansion in the world. It resembles an economic machine that needs very little fuel to work; though its products are not of a high quality there is a certain compensation that must not be overlooked. A flower that is, like certain orchids, produced by artificial selection, demands infinitely more care than the wild dandelion, for instance.

The idea of superiority, like everything else, is relative. Moreover, we must diagnose these qualities by a careful study of the psychic, sociological, or moral causes which have given birth to them. We shall probably find that qualities of quite a different origin are involved and that it is not always the warlike qualities that are victorious.

Respect for law and the gift of conservative innovation—to use the happy phrase of Walter Bagehot—are excellent qualities of a military origin; a long period of military discipline that gave rise to them. It is owing to them, Bagehot says, that the Romans conquered the world. I agree. But I do not understand how the Romans with such qualities were unable to overcome the moral strength of a few Christian martyrs who eventually destroyed their great Empire. The Turks of the Ottoman Empire have these qualities in a higher degree than the Ottomans of other races, such as the Greek, the Arab, the Albanian, and the Kurd. How is it that these qualities have not secured for the true Turks of the Empire either a superiority in numbers or a supremacy in commerce or art?

A quality of a certain kind can only secure a certain kind of superiority; we cannot expect of a martial quality success in commercial competition. Their warlike virtues have secured the government for the Turks, and they have ever held the reins in their vigorous hands. They have always, or almost always, produced statesmen, magistrates, captains, and soldiers of the first rank. But they have, unfortunately, very little capacity for commerce, finance, and industry. Great commercial and industrial enterprises tempt them no longer. They have little disposition for philosophy and science. It is a race with practical but martial qualities. They have no moral and social qualities that are distinctive of them. As is well known, they are hospitable, but this is not a virtue inherent in the race, as the Bedouin also has it, and as it is really not so much a quality as a custom strictly related to the "nomad condition" or a certain stage of social evolution. Neither is it an exclusively Oriental virtue, for the Chinaman, who represents the oldest civilisation, is distinguished for his aversion to foreigners.

Let us consider the Jewish people. This people has indisputably a higher capacity than any other for finance and commerce. It has also a very advanced and pronounced degree of social virtue—moral solidarity. But it does not

possess these two excellent qualifications for the struggle in virtue of its belonging to the Semitic race, as is generally thought. How is it, in that case, that the nomad tribes which belong to the same race as the Jews are constantly killing each other and have an aggressive and military rather than a conciliatory and industrial character? It cannot be said that these two qualities, which have saved the life and preserved the integrity of the Jewish people more effectively than in the case of any other people, and "in spite of the countless persecutions that they have endured," are martial qualities. It is precisely after it had lost its warlike qualities and its national independence that the people of Israel acquired these two higher qualities, one of which secures for it supremacy in the financial world and the other maintains a moral cohesion among its members scattered throughout the world. It needs a long discipline of misfortunes—a harder discipline than that of the Romans—to acquire these capacities; and this education has lasted at least twenty-five centuries, during which it had not the same rights as other nations. In that circumstance must we seek all its virtues and defects. There again we will find the explanation of the paradox that it is very materialistic in business and very idealistic in its dreams of its glorious past, that it is cosmopolitan while it remains at heart as nationalist as it was under the rule of its ancient patriarchs, that it is very liberal and innovating while it remains extremely conservative in the observance of its eminently traditional customs.

These instances prove—in my opinion, at least—that these qualities, like many others of the same kind, have very little to do with what is called the "innate capacity of races," a vague formula that I find it difficult to understand precisely. I can at the most admit an innate capacity of the individual, but not of the race. If the races of men really have a certain innate capacity and aptitude, it consists in the instinctive and unconscious qualities of conservatism, an instinct that is inherent, not merely in the nature of man, but in the insect itself. How, then, can we suppose that this conservative instinct, common to all human beings, can be the true measure of the higher moral and intellectual qualities which assure the supremacy of one nation over others? It would be like measuring and estimating the intensity of light with a pair of scales.

I can easily admit that the conservative instinct is the cause of all higher qualities and virtues. But that is not the question. We want to know how the same instinct has given rise to certain qualities in one race and different qualities in another. We have to determine the influence of the specific factors which have brought about this differentiation among the various races of men; and, in the case with which we are especially concerned here, we have, I think, to discover those factors which we must regard as prejudicial to a good understanding or incompatible with it.

I should be the first to admit this sociological truth, that war has played the greatest part in the formation of the ancient and more or less barbaric civilisations, in the rise of the great conquering nations, and in their geographical distribution. Mythology, prehistoric science, archæology, and many other fields of research in which the scientific spirit is actively engaged in pursuing its fruitful investigations, show us that war and conquest polarise nations and even national sentiments; that civilisation, which has not emerged all at once from obscurity, has had to advance with slow and halting steps, even disorderly and "ataxic" steps, if I may use the expression, in its uncertain faith; and that commerce and industry, the two great pacific factors of civilisation, were at first very rudimentary, and suffered grievously from the sudden dislocations and waste of a chronic state of war.

As the various peoples were not at the same level of social evolution, and the ways and means of communication were not what they are to-day, there was no harmony between them. At times a barbaric horde, formidable in its

numbers and the physical strength of its members, fell suddenly upon and laid waste a country that enjoyed the wealth it had accumulated by peace, industry, and economy. It was the "gaziva," the "razia," on a grand scale. The Turanian or Ural-Altaic race, as one may prefer, has been in its time far superior to others in this respect.

The vital energy of a savage people was, perhaps, needed to restore the life of a decrepit civilisation, by supplying it with fresh vigour from its own sap; just as the Vestal Virgins fed the sacred fire to keep it alive. Hence it is that civilisation passed from hand to hand, like a torch showing light to humanity; the arm needed strength to hold the torch as high and as long as possible. From the remotest periods of history the Turks and other nations of the same race have played an important part by their military virtues. But history shows that conquest has its disastrous side. It has almost always lowered the moral level of the conquered and the conquerors, filling them with sentiments of hostility that are incompatible with the conditions of peaceful collective life. Hence, quite naturally, the arrogance, the contempt, the disdain which characterise the moral attitude of the race which considers itself superior in every respect simply because it has proved its superiority in the qualities of war. Hence, too, the sullen hatred, the vindictive disloyalty, the hardly concealed hypocrisy, the conservative exclusivism, and the tendency to an exaggerated traditionalism which characterise the moral attitude of a conquered race, which may, at the most, admit its inferiority of circumstances, but not its moral and intellectual inferiority. That is one of the gravest questions which conquering peoples have to settle before they can think of laying the foundations of a cordial understanding between all races. In that respect we have to study the remarkable qualities and defects of the Ottoman Turks.

Although my time and space are limited, I cannot help drawing attention to certain scientific facts, usually wrongly interpreted, which have a close connection with the question of races. I wish to speak of craniological science, which is closely related to anthropology on the one hand, and ethnography on the other.

To what extent may we infer a difference of moral characteristics from a difference of physical characteristics? The question has often been put, and, as we know, Dr. Cabanis, under the influence of the encyclopedists of the eighteenth century, declared that there was an absolute parallelism.

The question of the morality of a people has been discussed by philosophers. Herbert Spencer, Mill, and Lord Avebury, to whom I am more indebted than any for my intellectual education, have expressed different opinions on the subject. Spencer quotes the Veddahs and the Himalayans as of high and irreproachable morality, though they are at the very base of the human hierarchy in point of intelligence and civilisation. The distinguished philosopher rightly attributes this one-sided superiority to their having lived a peaceful and undisturbed social life during many centuries.

What should we say if we had to judge the morality of one of these peoples by measuring its facial angle, or its cephalic index, or its cranial capacity—in a word, by first considering the distinctive features of its physiognomy and the specific form of its skull? Would it not be much the same thing as attempting to determine the value of a coin by the figure stamped on it?

I do not question that these important characters in the classification of races have their proper value; they are the visible effects of certain causes. But I prefer to remain in the province of pure pragmatism in regard to facts that have not yet been set free of contradictory hypotheses.

The volume of the brain, in so far as it is normal, is the outcome of effort and exercise, like the size of a muscle. I do not see that that will explain either the specific form of the skull or the mental energy, still less the specific

capacity and genius of a scholar or an artist. We must not forget that statistical data offer no explanation whatever of individual cases, and all these considerations drawn from craniological studies have only a purely statistical value. Aristotle, Epicurus, St. Paul, and Baron Canchy had not large and fine heads, yet who will dispute the encyclopædic genius of the first, the moral genius of the second and third, and the mathematical genius of the fourth? Alexander Bain believes that there is a correlation between the intellectual power and the volume of the brain; Spencer, who had, like Bain, one of the strongest and finest heads, is very sceptical on the point. Between that and morality there is an impassable abyss. As to form, I am inclined to agree with the illustrious Professor Haeckel, of Jena, that the formal differences in the human skull are original and are of no value except for the classification of races. While we are as yet unable to agree on the rational conditions of a natural classification even of mushrooms, it would be premature and arbitrary to divide humanity into two or four great classes, or to say that there are European heads and Asiatic heads in the moral sense, and to suppose that the Asiatic head is much inferior to the European in this respect. The great prophets of humanity had Asiatic heads. The thesis is, therefore, valid only in ethnography, not in moral science.

Moreover, to speak only of my own country, what a confusion it would be to regard all Ottomans as Asiatics. There are millions of men amongst us who are as European as the most advanced nations of Europe and who are not in every respect superior to their fellow-citizens of Asiatic origin. The phrases imply, from their very nature, an idea of absolute superiority or inferiority which is the psychic source of the arrogance, disdain, and hatred that so much impede a good understanding. It is this feeling of disdain that justifies aggression against a supposed inferior race, because it is pacific. Nietzsche has given us the psychological explanation of this important fact.

Possibly it is the feeling of aristocratic and military superiority rather than the idea of a real moral and intellectual superiority that is the source of the evil. It is on that ground that the Turks, when they had conquered nations more civilised than themselves, did not regard them as fellow-citizens with equal rights. That is one of the chief defects of the Turkish character. But all conquering nations have the same defect. It is remarkable that Nietzsche should attempt to justify all aggression on the part of a European and militarist "superman." Nevertheless, the white race, which at present dominates the others, ought to make a serious study of this psychic fact.

Social life is, like individual life, a continual process of adaptation to the environment and the surrounding circumstances, which are a part of the essential conditions of universal life. To wish to moralise a people that has only rudimentary institutions and a gross and anthropomorphic religion swarming with contradictory superstitions by giving it a higher religion would be just as absurd and dangerous as to cause the abortive delivery of a three-months' old foetus in order to nurse it with the greatest care in an incubator. Is there any reasonable man who, to facilitate the emergence of the mature insect, would tear open the pupa-case in order to see the butterfly earlier? Yet this is just what is being done everywhere outside the civilised continent with a great expenditure of money and energy.

I am profoundly convinced that the moral value and practical, salutary effect of a religion or religious belief is much more closely related to the sincerity of the belief than to its object. It is the sincerity of faith that inspires noble and unselfish deeds; it is that and not the formal conceptions which constitute the differentiating characters of religions that impels to sacrifice. If all new religions could at the start inspire their followers with the idea of sacrifice, self-denial, courage, and contempt of life it is owing to the sincerity of a faith that

has not yet been shaken by scepticism ; it is because they sincerely believed in a sacred principle that was good for humanity. The question of form had nothing to do with it ; if the faith is extinguished the metaphysical concepts that remain may make professors, but not martyrs ready to sacrifice themselves for a sublime truth.

I, therefore, think that it would be useful, and is important, to reflect on this question, especially as religion has, according to the circumstances, either a separative or a consolidating effect on the masses. To express myself very briefly, let me say that an exaggerated zeal for religious propaganda in the midst of any race will create so difficult a situation that it will end in embroiling proselytism and orthodoxy, and nationalist sentiments will only complicate and further aggravate the unfortunate situation.

As I am merely expressing abstract personal opinions on these important sociological questions I will refrain from giving examples. I am endeavouring only to discover and determine the chief obstacles which prevent a good understanding by destroying the exalted feelings of friendship that should bring the various races of earth together.

The civilised nations which have accepted the noble mission of moralising inferior races, as it is usually expressed, have always preached that tolerance is one of the first conditions of morality. True civilisation begins with it, and not with the application of steam and electricity to industry. It is in the recognition of rights and the mutual respect of individuals and societies that we must seek the test of a true civilisation.

It is very remarkable that the famous essay of John Locke did not prevent Mill from emphasising toleration, a century and a half later, for the second time. I repeat the fact is very remarkable. It must be taken into serious consideration, as intolerance is one of the chief causes of the distrust and antipathy which are born of the contact of different races and nations.

Admitting the universality of the scientific principle that "every oscillation tends towards a point of stable equilibrium," I firmly believe that our inevitable relations throughout the world will in the long run set up a more balanced political and social situation by a better co-ordination of our interests, which tend to greater and greater solidarity. A less rough, more intimate, and more frequent contact between the nations of different races will create and foster this desired sympathy, which is the psychic cause and the powerful factor of that sociability without which there could be no civilisation. Only then shall we admit the truth that, in spite of the apparent differences due to physical characters, methods of social education, or degrees of intellectual capacity, we have all, as human beings, the same fundamental character and the same passions. We shall then admit more loyally that it is these very passions rather than the knowledge acquired that make up the essence of the human soul ; it is precisely these passions that dominate, rule, and direct men and societies. Then we shall be more humane and benevolent to the races that we regard as inferior and who are in reality profoundly like ourselves. Then we shall be more indulgent and tolerant to our fellows. Then we will understand that even the fetishistic savage has a vague consciousness of the sublime and transcendental truth that surrounds us on every side and of which the human intelligence is but a mysterious and marvellous revelation.

I am confident that in the province of social morality these are axiomatic truths ; they are as positive to my conscience as mathematical truths are to my intelligence. It is they that will guide us towards a moral ideal. What does it matter that we shall never attain that ideal ! It is enough that our eyes are turned to it to direct us toward a civilisation higher in every respect than that of to-day. Did not our early nomad ancestors take the pole-star as their guide, so that they might not be lost in the desert ? We must do likewise ; and,

without pressing idealism so far as to insist on an absolute humanitarianism, let us at least hope to replace the philosophy of Machiavelli by the reasoned utilitarianism of Bentham and J. S. Mill. If there is one purely social factor much more conducive to morality than any other of the same kind, it is solidarity based on a reciprocity of well-understood interests. It is that which will give us some security against aggression, which I regard as the source of every individual misfortune, and every social and international calamity.

I must, nevertheless, admit that this economic philosophy is rather dry and inadequate for the attainment of our supreme aim. We must give it more life and beauty by conforming, in the accomplishment of our difficult task, to the unwritten dogmas—the *ἀγραφα δόγματα*—of practical morals.

Some sociologists have declared that the social question is at bottom an economic question. I may say with just as much truth that it is entirely a moral question ; since, as I have shown, the two phases of the social question are intimately related.

Who knows what future is reserved for humanity ? I know only that social catastrophes, like geological cataclysms, are due to slow and continuous causes. I believe that the great men of all countries, especially those who govern and administer the masses, could prevent at least some of the causes, and moderate, to some extent, their dangerous effects.

I believe in the possibility of progress. The evolution of societies, as it pursues its path, exhibits certain perturbations which we believe to be as inevitable and irremediable as those of a heavenly body. It is enough to study the nature and causes of these perturbations to convince oneself that some of them, at least, are avoidable. I am full of hope for the future.

The solemn Congress in which I have the great honour and unspeakable joy of taking part gives me a brilliant proof that the leading representatives of modern civilisation are inspired with a noble resolution to deal seriously with the gravest question of our time.

The Turkey of to-day, with its ardent desire for progress and true civilisation, and its determined struggle for independence, offers a sincere wish for the success of the Congress, and warmly applauds its distinguished members who are devotedly working in it for the cause of humanity.

[*Paper submitted in French.*]

LETTER FROM M. LÉON BOURGEOIS

MY LORD,—You have been good enough to seek my collaboration and ask me to sign a paper for the forthcoming meeting of the Races Congress, which is to be held in London.

Although the state of my health has prevented me from complying personally with your request by writing a paper of any length, I desire at least to approach you to-day and say how much I approve the initiative that has impelled you and your distinguished collaborators to bring together representatives of all the races of men in a universal congress.

The thought that inspires you is a lofty one; it merits the attention of all, even of those who pride themselves on being practical politicians, and who are at times tempted to neglect problems of a general character on the ground that they do not deal with immediate difficulties. The object at which you aim, the securing of harmony between the various races of men, is an essential condition of any serious attempt to diminish warfare and extend the practice of arbitration. You approach the problem of pacification in its whole range, without concealing the obstacles from yourselves, and seek a solution that will apply, not to any particular human group, but to the whole of the inhabited globe. It is well that the question should already be put in this form by scientific congresses, in order to provide material that may afterwards be used by jurists and statesmen.

I have taken part in the work of the Hague Peace Conférences from the start, and am in a good position to say how happily your work completes ours. This assurance, indeed, will be given you by my colleague and friend, M. d'Estournelles de Constant, and the other French representatives at the Races Congress, some of whom have been my collaborators and faithfully represent the idea which guided us in the Hague meetings of 1899 and 1907.

I sincerely hope, therefore, that the first Races Congress, held under so noble an inspiration, will throw some light on the complex problems of the law of nations and thus see its labours crowned with complete success.

Accept, my Lord, the assurance of my great regard.

LÉON BOURGEOIS.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD WEARDALE,
President of the Congress, London.

[*Letter written in French.*]

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